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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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Message from the Minister for Overseas Development,
The Rt. Hon. Richard Wood, M.P.

25 not out is a score which provides at least a basis of hope in a Test Match these days, but it is a really solid achievement for a learned journal published by a Government department. In fact it is all but unique. This is why, on the occasion of the Journal's silver jubilee, I am delighted to be able to congratulate all who have been, and still are, responsible for its regular appearance four times a year. In spite of the changes in its title and the changes in its readership over the last twenty-five years, the Journal is still a valued forum for the communication of knowledge and experience in the field of public administration. It continues to provide students, teachers and practitioners with material for comparative studies. I have every confidence that it will go on in this way so long as nations are able to speak peace to one another.

I wish the Journal every success in the future.

Editor's Notes

IT is the policy of this Journal to be forward-looking and to eschew past history save only where it is relevant to current developments in the administrative field. With this Number, however, the Journal achieves its 25th anniversary and a touch of nostalgia will, it is hoped, be forgiven on such a special occasion.

It is, we feel, most appropriate that our distinguished first editor, Sir George Cartland (now Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania) and Ronald Robinson, his assistant editor (now Professor of Commonwealth history at Oxford), should provide us with contributions. The former recalls the Journal's "founding" days and the latter provides a short study of the Journal's place – a small cog in the wheel – in the evolution of policies that brought independence to the British dependencies in Africa. Both pay well-deserved tribute to the vital role played by the late Sir Andrew Cohen, "father" of the Journal and of the Cambridge Conferences on development with which it was closely associated in many ways – Andrew Cohen who planned for the transfer of power. We are also grateful to Tony Kirk-Greene who adds to the survey of the Journal's history, a study of the "new men" who assumed command at the top of their civil services when expatriates departed and independent African States became a reality.

Most welcome, also, is the opportunity to publish a special contribution by A. L. Adu whose distinguished career spans the life of this Journal. The first African to Head the Civil Service of his country, Ghana; the first to become Secretary General of the East African Common Services Organisation; the first to become Deputy Secretary General of the Commonwealth Secretariat. He discusses the direct experiences gained in these three fields – experiences which have importance and validity for public administrators throughout the developing world.

Our Anniversary Number is also notable for containing the first article ever to appear in the Journal on Africa's oldest independent State, Ethiopia, written by Harold Alderfer, America's leading authority on local government in developing countries. We include, also, the second part of William Tordoff's article on Botswana in which he assesses recent administrative developments and focuses on the all-important issue of the allocation of land.

The Journal circulates in some 65 countries, and its 550 articles have covered every Continent. Our contributors and reviewers (of 400 books) have been drawn from Australia, Britain, Canada, the Caribbean, Colombia, Egypt, Fiji, Ghana, Guiana, Hong Kong, India, Iraq, Kenya, the Lebanon, Malaysia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sweden, Sudan, Tanzania, Turkey, Uganda, the UN, USA and Zambia.

It has been the happy privilege of the present editor to hold the chair eight and a half years, much the longest stint of any editor of the Journal, and the occasion of these Editor's Notes is taken to thank all those who have

written articles and book reviews, freely giving up their time so as to provide the quality of material which has helped to maintain the value and interest of the Journal to its readers.

These Anniversary Notes cannot be concluded without a tribute to Rowland Hudson whose wise advice as Chairman of the Editorial Committee guided successive editors from 1949 until his retirement in 1966. The Editor would also like to record his appreciation of the skill, speed and accuracy with which Mrs. Catlin has, for the past decade, typed innumerable articles, notes, reviews and much other Journal copy.

The Journal and the Transfer of Power 1947-51

By RONALD ROBINSON

Dr. R. E. Robinson is Beit Professor of Commonwealth History at Balliol College, Oxford. While Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, he was Chairman of the Cambridge Conferences on Development 1960-1970.

CENTENARIES are usually a bore; quarter centenaries only three-quarters less so; yet the origins of the Journal are curious enough to be worth recording on the twenty-fifth anniversary of publication or any other excuse.

It was a rank outsider for a start. Masquerading as the "Digest of African Administration" it began as Barry (now Sir George) Cartland's wholly unauthorised broadsheet for "local government" as opposed to indirect rule. He had been a district commissioner in the Gold Coast; but when the idea of the journal came to him in the middle of 1947, he *was* in the Colonial Office African Studies Branch. I was his underling research officer known derisorily as "Thinker". The idea was for a quarterly written by field officers for field officers who would exchange ideas and experience of problems of native administration, courts and land tenure through its pages. Of these basic questions curiously enough, the Office with responsibility for a vast African empire, had made no systematic study until the Branch was set up to do so. Nor until the Journal supplied it, had officers in the field any facility for discovering how colleagues in other territories, or even in neighbouring provinces, were tackling them.

Predictably as it was so badly wanted, higher authority rejected Cartland's proposal for a technical professional journal in favour of reviving the pre-war house magazine of the Colonial Service, *Corona*. Undaunted by rebuff, he got the first four issues of the *Digest* written in the Branch and extracted two thousand "Roneod" copies from a dismayed Miss Penny. In the long annals of the Office as paperwinnowing machine, this was quite an event, at least to me; it fell to me to write most of the material required. Batches were then sent out to all African governors for circulation to every district and a new file was opened to receive the letters of thanks, some formally polite, many genuinely sincere, that came back. Their officers as well as academics found the Digest useful, even valuable. No doubt few had read it, but those who had were asking for more. When the file bulged five inches thick with encomiums, Cartland plonked it on the desk of Andrew Cohen, chief of the African division, and persuaded him to ignore higher authority, publish and be damned. Since the Office had refused a financial guarantee, the venture was floated on a promise of sixteen hundred subscriptions from Africa. It was a measure of the founders' administrative *savoir faire*, indeed of the colonial regimes' institutional flexibility that the first published number of the *Journal of African Administration* should have beaten the first post-war *Corona*, its officially financed and sanctioned rival, off the presses by a whole month.

The start of the Journal however when viewed in its broad historical setting, was by no means as fortuitous as this true dining-out story would suggest. 1947 was a good year for innovations in African affairs – the Branch, the Journal, the first Cambridge conference, African governors' and African unofficials' conferences to come, and above all, Mr. Creech Jones's radical local government despatch. But all this was but the visible tip of an iceberg of planning long term for a transfer of power in Africa, whose profound political implications were hidden at the time, and will remain concealed until the archives for 1947 are opened. In that year Creech Jones as Minister with Cohen as his chief adviser began a revolution in African policy similar to that which exactly a century earlier had given self-government to the settled colonies in Canada and Australasia.

In 1929, officials had assumed that African advance in central government was a question for the twenty-first century. During the years of war the Department conceded that in return for their loyalty both Africans and settler leaders should have more places on executive and legislative councils after the peace. Small beginnings with Africanising the higher service. It was also foreseen that on the west coast the collaborating chiefs and their moderate allies among the intelligentsia would need some measure of constitutional advance if they were to parry an expected challenge from a "minority of extreme nationalist agitators". Under Lord Hailey's influence up to 1946 nevertheless, Colonial Office post-war plans were for continuing the indirect rule system of local administration through traditional tribal élites, and for conceding their representatives a gradually widening share of power in central government to the exclusion of "ballot-box" politicians. By this conservative road it was expected, self-governing African states – essentially confederations of tribal authorities, would emerge perhaps within the next sixty to eighty years.

The map of colonial Africa's future which Creech Jones and Cohen unrolled in 1947 was so different that a new world swung into the gaze. Every mountain and hill of indirect rule strategy was laid low and every valley exalted. The chiefs and traditional élites, they believed had not the outlook or skills required to carry out crash programmes of modern economic and social development. For this purpose the hitherto excluded educated minority had to be brought into local and then into central government. University Colleges and training institutes must be set up to multiply their numbers. They believed, what was more, that divided as they were intrinsically by tribal rivalry, the chiefs could not sustain strong central government; whereas eventually the modern élite with its nationalist outlook and interest could do so. Hence in 1947 Creech Jones proclaimed the new local government policy. Traditional native authorities had to be re-shaped into democratic local authorities on the English model manned by educated men. It was hoped they would prove more progressive and efficient. They were intended to prepare for the transfer of power at the centre as local training grounds for African politicians and executives in responsibility and for popular electorates in the arts of democratic control. What was not proclaimed was the foreshortened perspective on the transfer of power which the projected switch from tribal to modern élite collaborators implied. According

to the new map of 1947, the constitutional advances required to win the educated African and keep control of swiftly-developing African political economies would be such that British colonial Africa was expected to become self-governing in the Commonwealth within a generation. In 1947, the official perspective on decolonisation had foreshortened by almost half a century.

So it was that in that year the aim of policy changed from jealously conserving imperial power in alliance with African kings and chiefs, to the tasks of African nation-building hand in hand with modern élites. To Creech Jones and Cohen that task seemed desperately urgent. Their predecessors had believed there was plenty of time ahead; they were convinced that too little time was left; and they were running to drag a new African future into the present.

What was it then that moved them to prepare for a quickened transfer of power? Not pressure from African nationalist movements. They were as yet in their negligible infancy; nor anti-colonial feeling in England. Never was empire there so proudly regarded or African tropical territories so economically valued; nor yet American diplomacy which had ceased to press for the liquidation of its ally's empire in 1943. Creech Jones and Cohen projected in African affairs the radical force of post-war welfare state idealism which had brought Mr. Attlee's government to power in 1945. At once pragmatic and utopian, they looked to the state to bridge the gap between idea and reality by feats of social engineering on a long term plan. Colonial rule in their eyes was justified only if it could raise living standards and prepare its subjects for self-government. They accepted that in the long run only African national governments could mobilise the power to act socialistically in this sense. A colonial ruler could never achieve it. Their slogan was therefore that "Self-government is better than good colonial government", their anti-slogan, "the fallacy of unlimited time ahead". This by no means meant that they were in a hurry to throw the empire away. The two were as resolved as the most die-hard indirect ruler to hang on as long as possible; for the longer they could stay, the stronger foundations for independence could be laid. But they were resolved to transfer power by stages as circumstances necessitated, rather than risk wrecking the unfinished under-pinning and ground work for independence by endeavouring to retain power for its own sake for too long. To avoid the risk of conceding too little too late, they resolved n too much too early.

Policy however issues in action not on paper. The radical "New course" of 1947 proved easy to put on official record but very hard to get carried out. Almost all the reigning African governors and many of their senior officials remained indirect rulers, bitterly opposed to the "intellectual dreamers" of Whitehall. Little could be done without their co-operation, and they could only be converted or coerced with much preaching and heart-searching. That perhaps was the secret behind almost all the visible innovations of 1947. However fortuitous and disconnected their origins, they were all pressed into service in the Colonial Office's seige train against the citadels of indirect rule within the African colonial service. For the first time in its history the Office had a long-term, comprehensive African design requiring wholesale interference in provincial administration. Hence the founders needed the

Journal to explain the new local government policy and spread the technical detail of the new idea in the field, and Creech Jones and Listowel underlined the urgency of radical methods of state-building in its early pages. So Cartland and even Robinson happened to be in a new Studies Branch trying to work out administrative reforms that might or might not work thousands of miles and several centuries away from Great Smith Street, Westminster. So by the fine hand of Andrew Cohen, the first Cambridge conference assembled at Queen's College some senior officials from Africa open to persuasion against indirect rule, to produce a detailed blue-print for African local government; and so with two notable exceptions, the African governors at their conference in 1948 at least agreed to consider the Cambridge report; although those in east and central Africa were slow to do much about it, those in West Africa did respond to the new direction, and everywhere a "seething of thought" about the future was stirred. More than all the campaigning, nevertheless the scare of the Accra riots and events in the Gold Coast from 1949 to 1951 did most to convince African governments of the wisdom of the new course. In the latter year when Cohen,[1] passionately volcanic as ever, left the Office for Uganda, he consoled himself with the fact that on the west coast at least the course was set beyond recall.

If one had to speculate on what Creech Jones and Cohen contributed to the decolonisation of tropical Africa, this much might be said. Their map of the future, heavily preached, and oriented on sympathetic expectations of powerfully progressive nationalist movements as it was, may well have helped bring such movements into being. A danger of planning ten and twenty years ahead is that events cease to be appraised as such as they arise, and become confused with those predicted. In this way the plan-makers original assumptions tend to predetermine the future whether they are correct or not. The Gold Coast crisis may have been a case in point. It seems as if the Colonial office exaggerated the significance of each symptom of nationalist unrest as it arose from being well-prepared to concede its claims. The curious result was that the ballot box and unofficial majorities, intended as concessions to popular nationalism when it emerged, were granted prematurely and largely contributed to the emergence of mass nationalism. In this sense the New Course however utopian and divorced from African realities, predetermined things to come, even when it was misconceived and mis applied. If in the end the British decolonisation of Africa was comparatively elegant, and not entirely unconstructive, the vision was that of 1947.

Modest as the journal's role was in all this it was a tiny piece of an historic plan. During the next fifteen years it became the professional journal of the district officer working to build up local self-government in Africa, of those in universities training Africans to receive the transfer of power. Once the empire had been dismantled, a journal of colonial administration should have come to a stop. After independence nevertheless national and international executives of Third World development have gone on exchanging ideas and experience through its columns. The Journal runs on because those who read and wrote it were concerned to prepare the way for decolonisation and afterwards, to consolidate independence through aid for development – the great creative movements of the times.

[1] I am attempting Cohen's biography. I would be interested to hear at Balliol College, Oxford, from readers with correspondence from or recollection of him.

Administration and Africanisation: An Autobiographical Approach to an Evaluation

By A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE

Mr. Kirk-Greene was Senior Lecturer in Government at the Institute of Administration, Zaria, up to 1961, and then Reader in Public Administration at Ahmadu Bello University, Nigeria. Since 1967 he has been Senior Research Fellow in African Studies at St. Antony's College, Oxford University. He has written extensively on problems of administration in Africa, notably in this Journal.

PREAMBLE

In responding to the generous editorial invitation to contribute an article to the 25th anniversary issue of this Journal, I found the temptation initially strong to compose an historical piece, the record of its past achievement and pioneer ventures. For the Journal, despite its fickle nomenclature – the curse of library cataloguers – has from its inception been constant in its role of a valued vehicle for publication on many aspects of administrators in action.

Our plan for a 25th anniversary volume of collected essays was finally subordinated to the larger proposal to reprint all the earlier volumes; and a glance at them, or at the little-known composite index compiled by the editorial staff in three parts, 1948-58, 1958-68 and 1969-71 (available from the editorial office in limited numbers on request by interested parties) gives a good idea of the wide-ranging but always well-balanced quality of contributions over the years. If the old African Studies Branch founded in the Colonial Office by Cohen and staffed by such doughty Africanists as Hudson, Robinson, Cartland, Wallis and Simpson, seems to belong to another age of African administration, the relevance and status of the Journal have progressed from respect to admiration. I do not think that it is an exaggeration to claim that, in any periodisation of research into African administration[1], the phase that opened with the 1947 despatch to colonial governors on local government and closed with the successful institutionalisation of training programmes in Africa's new Institutes of Public Administration must include recognition of the research and publishing contribution of the African Studies Branch, with its integral parts of the original Journal of African Administration and the notable proceedings of the annual Cambridge Conferences on Administration in Africa.

However, because of the role of this Journal in stimulating research, discussion and publication, it seemed to me a somewhat mooted tribute to write solely of the past. Instead, and hopefully in keeping with the often pioneering nature of contributions to the Journal, I decided to take the

[1]This proposed periodisation of the literature is elaborated in my paper "An Historiographical Perspective on Administrative Studies in Africa", presented to the International Conference on Trends in University Teaching and Research in Public Administration in Africa held at the University of Ife, February, 1970.

opportunity of this invitation to outline and examine one area of research into African administration that has not yet been touched in any serious measure. In drawing attention to this major explored in the literature of public administration and in presenting the framework of a current research project aimed at helping to fill that gap, it is my hope that when this piece of research is initiated in the near future, this preliminary discussion will have enabled the research officers of Africa's leading Institutes of Public Administration to formulate their own ideas on how its parameters might be improved and how they themselves may be able best to provide that primary assistance in its implementation which they alone can give.

The Purpose

I make no apology for returning here to a research theme adumbrated and advocated, in various learned journals, over the past few years. In its essence, the objective has not changed much from its original presentation:

> "Not until we have a number of personalised accounts of the type written by early *Indian* ICS officers . . . can we know what we ought to know about how the Successors evaluate the Guardians' concepts of the new dimensions of African administration and the ways to prepare therefor"[2].

Subsequent formulations of the proposal, with the call "for 'them' to supplement 'our' teaching by 'their' reactions to and reflections on 'our' contributions to administration"[3], have differed in degree rather than in focus, so that in its later expression the element of continuity comes as no surprise – "the urgent need for more studies by experienced Africans showing how they personally reacted first to sharing, then to inheriting, and finally to refashioning the legacy of an alien system of administration"[4]. It remains a truism that the documentation on the theme of administration and Africanisation, while ample on the side of the trainers, has been largely wanting from those trained, and is virtually non-existent among those senior men whose appointment antedated the period of formal training programmes.

Thanks to the work of Woodruffe and Symonds (*The Men Who Ruled India* and *The British and Their Successors*), Heussler and Cohen (*Yesterday's Rulers* and *Rulers of Empires: the French Colonial Service*), Jeffries and Furse (*The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service* and *Aucuparius: Recollections of a Recruiting Officer*), we have excellent documentation on the selection, training and work of the prototype district administrator. Thanks, too, to the editorial policy of this Journal and to the numerous conferences held on public administration in Africa since independence, we are equally well off in interpretative studies of administrative training schemes; though once again, it must be noted that most of these critiques have so far been written by non-Africans.

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[1] "Some Problems of the African Administrator in the Field Today", *African Affairs*, Vol. 66, No. 265, October 1967, pp. 319 and 323.

[2] "Administrative Training in Africa: The Northern Nigerian Experience and Beyond", *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. XXXV, 1969, No. 1, p. 15.

[3] "The New African Administrator", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10, 1972, p. 107.

Here, then, is the central object of our research project: to encourage and assist African administrators critically to record their experience as members of first a decolonising civil service and then an independent bureaucracy. In this way alone can there be created a corpus of primary literature on African administration by African administrators and one which will stand comparison with the valuable record from Indian members of the old ICS and its successor IAS. There is as yet nothing in the literature on administration and Africanisation to compare with J. N. Gupta's biographical study of R. C. Dutt's career as an Indian administrator (1911) or A. D. Gorwala's *Role of the Administrator: past, present and future* (Bombay, 1952), or S. K. Chettur's *The Steel Frame and I* (1962); or, to take two of the more recent leading examples, Kewal L. Panjabi's important symposium on *The Civil Servant in India* (Delhi, 1965) and N. B. Bonarjee's extraordinarily revealing autobiography, *Under Two Masters* (Calcutta, 1970). The sole candidate in this field is the contribution by one of the distinguished doyens of African administrators, A. L. Adu's *The Civil Service in New African States* (1964), subsequently expanded into *The Civil Service in Commonwealth Africa* (1969); but in content if not in title, this is essentially a descriptive and didactic text for trainee induction courses, not designed to be in the same genre as the conspicuous autobiographical and analytical memoirs cited above.

Before turning to the scope and method of the project, a further point needs to be made in respect of its aim. However valuable – and, for reasons that will become clear in subsequent paragraphs, the abused term "unique" cannot be out of place here – the carefully marshalled and critically analysed records of personal experience must be for a study of the history of Africanisation and administration, there is more to the objective than that. If, as I believe, it is possible to distinguish a number of stages in the localisation process in the bureaucratic and management cadres of the new nations of anglophone Africa, it is also plausible to argue that the ultimate phase, that of the Africanisation of administrative institutions, is at once the most significant and the least evident. As that eminent member of the first generation of African administrators who reached the top, Robert Gardiner, recently put it: "Today the substance of the colonial tradition has disappeared but the form lingers on in many administrative practices"[5]. New goals and new situations call for new directions and new norms of performance. To quote the same forceful argument in another form: "When one talks of Africanisation, should one not expect to find more evidence of the 'end of empire' than a black face instead of a white one under the *casquette coloniale* and impressive statistics of posts Africanised? Indeed, need there be a *casquette coloniale*, figuratively speaking, at all?"[6]. In the event, few countries have yet registered progress to any decisive extent in the Africanisation of the practices and procedures of the administrative system: Tanzania, Nkrumaist Ghana, and Guinea are the clearest exceptions. It is a question of the localisation of the spirit as well as of the structure; of the ethos and not just the elements.

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[5] In James Nti. ed., *The Task of the Administrator in Developing Societies*, Accra 1967, p. 101.

[6] *The New African Administrator . . .*, p. 97.

As I have attempted to show elsewhere[7], there is today a growing literature on the problems of African administration as seen by African administrators and academics – much of it published in the pages of this Journal. Much of it is, in the nature of things, written by graduate students, junior administrators, or young lecturers, not always rising above the level of descriptive or essentially derived pieces. This is neither surprising nor to be sneezed at. However, what I am suggesting is that to monographs like O. Oyinloye's *The Changing Role of the District Officer in Northern Nigeria* (Zaria 1966), and S. Nyagah's *The Politicalisation of Administration in East Africa* (Kabete 1968), to some of the perceptive articles carried in the house journals of Ife's and Kenya's Institutes of Administration, and to the kind of doctoral research in depth being undertaken by African postgraduates in universities with an established tradition for specialised work of this kind, both in (e.g., Ife) and outside Africa (e.g., Manchester, Syracuse, Pittsburgh) must be added what are so far the most helpful instances of experienced African bureaucrats breaking out of their Whitehall tradition of civil service reticence and of sharing with their fellow-countrymen their own ideas on the problems of African administration today, whether inherited or since created, and their own views on how these may best be solved.

Here we are at a stage beyond the memoir, however perceptive or prescriptive. It is from this still limited number of writings, such as – to take the Nigerian experience alone – A. Adedeji's edited symposium *Nigerian Administration and its Political Setting* (1968), the reports of the two conferences held at Zaria on *Administrative and Political Development* (1970) and *Reform of the Nigerian Public Service* (1972)*, from the published and outspoken speeches of such top permanent secretaries as A. A. Ayida this year and last year of A. A. Atta, and, above all, from the proceedings of the annual Inter-African Public Administration Seminar, that we can begin to distinguish the evolution of new attitudes to public administration in Africa, new views on new problems as well as on old ones. A whole fresh concept of African administration, its philosophy as well as its practice, may well be beginning to take shape in the 1970s. If so, then it is through the eyes – and the writings – of the early generations of Africa's bureaucrats that the story can be presented at its most intimate and informative, its most authentic, and its most revealing. For it is the personal contribution from senior African administrators, who alone have the first-hand knowledge on which to draw and the abundant experience on which to look back, that emerges as the real goal of our project, the source that is so rewarding in the parallel annals of the Indianisation of the Indian Civil Service and of the Indianisation of Indian administration.

The Scope

Such, then, are the aims of our proposed assessment of the contribution by yesterday's pioneers to the practice and emergent philosophy of administration in Africa. How do we intend to set about collecting the material from

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[7] *Ibid.*

*For reviews of these important works in this Journal, see the issues of July 1973 (pp. 224-5) and April 1974 (forthcoming).

African administrators on which to base our evaluation? The following paragraphs set out one approach, essentially an autobiographical, "I-was-there" one, but modified by subjection to academic analysis and contextual examination. Such is the core of our research programme.

The basic assumption is two-fold. One, that there is today a literally unique wasting asset of experience and expertise among African administrators. Two, that, as the dearth of "this was my life" literature confirms, African administrators have so far been too "young" and too busy to have had time to undertake this kind of rigorous part-subjective autobiography and part-objective analysis. By too "young" is meant the fact that many of Africa's first generation of administrators are still in office. Memoirs are conventionally the accompaniment of retirement. It is only in the past four years that we have seen the first trickle of Africa's senior administrators retiring from public service on full pension. Even then, as the experience of long-serving top administrators like Adu and Adebo, Omari and Ndegwa, Talib and Coomassie, shows, the pressure is on them to spread their administrative talent into the commercial or consultative world. Ambassadorial appointments are mooted; academic office, in a chancellory or distinguished professional capacity, has its attractions and there seems to be an insatiable need for "elder statesmen" as chairmen of statutory corporations, boards or commissions.

Politics, too, may one day beckon. Administrative experience and competence at that top level are too rare a commodity to be left untapped. In short, time has not yet lain heavily on the hands of many of Africa's first generation of senior administrators. In consequence, there has been little or none of it left for retrospective writing. As for those who are still in office, no one who has had any association with the life of the Permanent Secretary in an African bureaucracy can for a moment imagine that, short of the rare opportunity for a sabbatical term at some university (for his own peace of mind, preferably well out of reach of his colleagues), he is likely to have much time for sitting back and putting things into the unencumbered perspective they need. "I believe", a Nigerian academic criticises, writing from personal observation and confirming earlier appraisals, "that there is a tendency for people at top levels of decision-making in African countries to get involved in virtually every single sphere of decision-making"[8].

It is convenient for the purpose of this research project to classify African administrators into three "generations". The first comprises two sub-categories of administrator: those lone African officers who were recruited locally into the Colonial Administrative Service in the early 1940s, that is to say at a period before Africanisation became an imperative of decolonisation, and those who were appointed as the very first consequences of deliberate Africanisation programmes – on occasion, almost simultaneously – in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The former are but a handful, well enough known by name to require no listing here; yet perhaps not quite well-enough known by career for it always to be remembered by younger research students thirty

[8]Ibrahim Tahir, in Mahmud Tukur, ed., *Reform of the Nigerian Public Service*, Zaria 1972, p. 247.

years later that, in defiance of the Colonial Office's notorious "scaffolding theory" that denied the need for African District Commissioners in an independent African administration, men like Adu and Busia were in 1942 appointed as Assistant D.C. in the Gold Coast Administrative Service; that Adebo, Nwokedi, Ani and Wey entered the senior grade of the Nigerian Secretariat about the same time or soon after; and that graduates like Chapman and Dei Anang or Osakwe and Atta were all appointed to the senior positions before the watershed Africanisation reports of Coussey in the Gold Coast and Foot in Nigeria.

Nor was that famous generation confined to the Administrative Service. The professions of medicine, law and teaching were to provide an equal galaxy of public servants. Drs. Davidson Nicol of Sierra Leone and Lambo of Nigeria, Ademola and Offori Atta in law, and a score of teachers along the West Coast from the late Prime Minister of Nigeria downwards, all had direct experience of working as "senior service" colleagues with expatriate officers in an unambiguously colonial civil service. This, then, is the distinguishing hallmark of this sub-group in our context: they were all men appointed to "senior service" rank in the local civil service, in the heyday of colonial administration, before constitutional change had envisaged anything like a definite date for self-government, and before Africanisation had become a goal of any political reality or a term of any training significance. In the vocabulary of our research project, we may refer to this sub-group as the *Pioneers*.

Our second sub-group of senior African administrators whose experience we seek to distil and dissect is, in the nature of things, a wider one than the Pioneers. It would comprise a number of permanent secretaries, ambassadors, chairmen of standing commissions, and public servants of equivalent rank. The majority of these are likely to be still in service. The first African heads of their respective civil services would, by express design if not by exact definition, be in this group – names like Wey and Adebo, Udoji and Akilu of Nigeria; Ndegwa and Kariithi of Kenya; Namata and Omari (now with the private sector in Kenya) of Tanzania; Kalumuzu and Bigirwenkya of Uganda. Together they constitute a self-bounded, sub-group of the highest importance. In it, too, would feature many of the first African appointments as permanent secretary and provincial commissioner. Nor should we allow the continuing neglect by academics of African foreign service cadres[9]. For instance, obvious candidates would be Ouko and Mlamba in Kenya, Dei Anang and Boaten in Ghana, Nwokedi and Iyalla in Nigeria, John Malacela in Tanzania, all of whom have had substantial experience *ab initio* in the direction of foreign affairs. For our purpose, we may provisionally classify this second sub-group as the *Old Guard*.

Both the Pioneers and the Old Guard may, in general terms, be held to belong to the "first generation" of top-level African administrators. The

[9]A preliminary attempt to adjust this lack of perspective in studies of African public services will be found in my chapter on "The African Diplomat: Some Career Patterns and Problems", in Kenneth Ingham's forthcoming volume of the proceedings of the Colston Society Symposium held at the University of Bristol in April 1973. Some similar research was in hand at Makerere University before September 1972.

careers of all of them have the unifying factor that they served, always in a "senior service" capacity and in many cases in a "junior service" capacity too, with British officers for a number of years before independence. The ability to compare and contrast administrative precepts and practice is therefore potentially at its highest among those who have had personal experience of serving under two masters. In consequence, both these sub-groups are of prime importance in our research project. The sad fact that death has already thinned their ranks, not excluding some of the names cited above, merely adds an element of undeniable urgency to the project's implementation.

We now come to the "second generation" of African administrators. For historical reasons, they also constitute a tidily definable group. Like the "first generation", the Pioneers and the Old Guard, they too have enjoyed an administrative experience but it is unrepeatable. It may be expressed at three levels:

i. They were in each country among the first group of officers to be appointed to a purposely Africanising administrative service. This was the kind of appointment that dominated administrative recruitment in Africa between roughly 1957 and 1965. By contrast, their successor generation will have been appointed to a predominantly – often exclusively – Africanised administrative service. Their predecessors, of course, were originally all members of a pre-Africanising, colonial, civil service.

ii. They were among the first group of Africans to be deliberately trained as District Officers/Commissioners. Often this had to be by a course of a specific, crash-programme, no-frills nature. Their successor generation has generally been taught public administration to degree level: "educated" rather than "trained" before appointment.

iii. They were the last group of African administrators to work with the declining cadre of expatriate District Commissioners/Officers as colleagues, in both junior and senior roles.

There is, in fact, a very small number of African graduates whose career spills over into that of this "second generation" of African administrators. Despite the exception that they offer to (ii), their numbers are not significant enough to justify a separate sub-generational classification. Since their career patterns conform to the three criteria set out above, they may conveniently be treated as part and parcel of the "second generation". For the purpose of our research, we shall identify this "second generation" as the *Young Guard*.

What we call the "third generation" of African administrators is to a certain extent a negative classification: what distinguishes it is simply the absence from its accumulated experience of the attributes enjoyed by the Pioneers, the Old Guard and the Young Guard. For instance, they are predominantly a younger, graduate entry, rarely having had any previous in-service experience. They have probably been exposed to some academic instruction in public administration, either as an option in a first degree programme in Government or Political Science or at a master's level (the Ph.D. programmes in public administration have as yet had few takers in

African universities, perhaps because of the problems such a qualification causes to a public service commission anxious not to bruise the morale of a whole service at the cost of raising that of a single applicant. By and large, the Ph.D. has not made a name for himself as a stayer in Africa's civil services). Against this, they have seldom had any formal "training" in administration until the period of their post-appointment induction or orientation course. Finally, few if any of the generation of administrators has had the experience – whether it was good or bad is irrelevant at this stage – of working with a permanent and pensionable cadre of expatriate colonial administrators.

However, to balance these negatively-defined qualifications, this generation enjoys no less significant ones, in the context of the formulation of a new ethos of African administration. These include a generally much higher mean level of educational achievement, of not infrequent post-graduate study (often in a university overseas), and of a progressively remoter influence of the structure and spirit of a colonial administrative service. What they have lost on the colonial administration roundabout they have gained on the independent government swings. Granted that at present their influence is exercised mostly in the middle or upper-middle ranks of the civil service or at the lectureship grade in Institutions of Public Administration and/or University Departments of Government, the potential for this third generation to fashion any new philosophy of administration in Africa is more than just a matter of promotion-time. Intellectually, they are an administrative force just as much as the far fewer but opportunely-placed Pioneers were. Despite their ranking by the criterion of seniority as the "third generation", it is to them as much as to their two antecedent generations of African administrators that we need to look for perspectives on current thinking about public administration in Africa. They constitute no less an important sector of our research than the Pioneers, the Old Guard and the Young Guard, defined by a different set of experience-criteria. For the sake of uniformity, we may refer to this "third generation" of African administrators as the *New Entry*.

The Method

These, then, are the various "generations" of African bureaucrats whose experience of and views on administration over the past twenty years, always exceptional and often unique, will provide the data on which an evaluation of any reinterpreted or evolving ethos of African administration can be based. The methodology of the field research is not perhaps of major concern here. Suffice it to say that it envisages a combination of prepared background papers (including a synthesis of the Indian, and maybe the Malayan and Sudanese, experience), specific, controlled seminars, and structured rather than open-ended interviews. To minimise the risk of the inadequate or possibly negative contribution inseparable from an untutored autobiographical approach, a number of preliminary areas of enquiry can be identified. These could provide a framework for research into the perceptions of the Africanisation of administration. At the same time as eliciting a unique corpus of personal record and first-hand experience, it should be possible to identify from the assumptions and approach delineated above, problems of public administration in contemporary Africa – both

inherited from the colonial past and generated by the pressures of the political present – for scrutiny and solution by modern African administrators. Attention will be paid to an evaluation of the imperial legacy and of socio-cultural influences on the concept of field administration in Africa today. Consequent factors that may hinder the free and full exercise of skills in the realisation of the goals of development administration may be revealed by means of such an ecological approach. The understanding of both the past and the present will be facilitated by a study of the data thus gathered.

Apart from the biographical profiles, which would include motivation and factors influencing the original selection of career, among the principal areas of enquiry – for the Pioneers and Old Guard as well as for the Young Guard and New Entry – would be training. What, it might be asked, was relevant, irrelevant or simply missing in the training schemes for potential administrators, whether formalised courses or the more pragmatic "Aristotelian flutist" attachments[10]?. In the light of such an assessment, what form should the recruitment and training of the modern African administrator take, given the revised nature of his task as the agent of an independent government? Again, particularly – but not exclusively – for the Pioneers and Old Guard, it would be helpful to have a detailed analysis of an administrator's relations at the different stages of his career, with, for instance:

a. Expatriates
   i. seniors
   ii. peers
   iii. juniors (if any)
b. African administrators
   i. seniors (if any)
   ii. peers
   iii. graduate new entry
   iv. junior officials (clerical grades, etc.)
c. Professional and departmental officers
   i. expatriate
   ii. African
d. Ministers and politicians
e. Natural rulers and traditional authorities
f. Native administrations and local government bodies
g. Commercial and mission personnel

Finally, after a series of more generalised questions on the direction of field administration and career opportunities, on whether the historical concept of an Administrative Service might not give way to arguments for a more flexible Administrative Grade, and on what the justification is for continuing the conventional field and Ministry interchangeability or dichotomy, the enquiry might suitably conclude with a retrospective evaluation session. Where did "we" fail and where succeed? Where have things been easier or harder for the trainees than the trainers? Where have new needs and fresh attitudes generated new principles and practice in public administration?

A useful methodological precedent has been found in the experience gained in conducting the oral history scheme of the Oxford Colonial Records

[10] "The best way to learn to play a flute is to play a flute."—Aristotle.

Project, in which a number of colonial governors and senior administrators have recorded their reminiscences within the framework of a carefully pre-researched set of trigger-questions. Another source of encouragement has been the confidence shown in the value and validity of this kind of research by academics: for example, in Africa by the directorate of the Institute of Administration at Ife, where several tape-recordings along the Pioneer line have already been made, or in Britain not only by the now wound-up Colonial Records Project at Oxford but also by the directorate of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London, whose first publication in this field is shortly due to appear. Finally, the precedent of the annual Inter-African Public Administration Seminar, now in its twelfth year, and the personal interest shown in this project by the President and several officers of its new organising body, the African Association for Public Administration and Management, have given it the impetus required to transfer it from drawing-board to construction. One final fact is certain. Close co-operation with one of Africa's Institutes of Public Administration and the association of African academics stand out as major desiderata.

Envoi

It is in the twin belief, first that the time is now ripe as the age of retiring approaches, to record for posterity the unique experience of the Pioneers and the Old Guard of African administrators and thereby complement the revealing and rewarding literature on Indian administration by Indian administrators, and secondly that this kind of controlled personalist approach offers an original and effective way of evaluating the real impact on administration of Africanisation – in which so much time, energy, money and ability has been invested over the past two decades – that this research project has been designed.

Looking further ahead still, as is the nature of true research, this project could generate parallel ones. For instance, a similar investigation could be carried out for the administrative legatees of Malaysia; for professional and departmental officers in anglophone Africa; for the administrative cadres of francophone Africa; for the private sector of commerce and industry; and, with extra caution, for the whole realm of higher education in Africa and Asia. In all of these, the same question retains its relevance: to what extent has localisation been anything more than a change in personnel? In furnishing the answer to Robert Gardiner's scathing challenge to African administrators, "today the substance of the colonial tradition has disappeared but the form lingers on in many administrative practices", one of the most valid – and certainly one of the most valuable – areas of evidence must be the experience of the first generations of Africa's own administrators.

The fact remains that in the growing volume of writing on public administration in Africa, despite the welcome increase in the contribution from African academics and younger administrators, it is the voice of the Pioneers and the Old Guard that has not yet been heard enough. To record this, along the lines envisaged in this research paper, should ensure that the African administrator gains the place in the literature on public administration that most feel he has earned but few can yet point to his having achieved.

Retrospect

By GEORGE CARTLAND

Sir George Cartland is Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania. In 1949 he became the first editor of this Journal.

I ACCEPTED with very great pleasure the Editor's invitation to write a contribution for the 25th anniversary number of the Journal. Perhaps it is for the best that I sit down to write this note while on holiday in England and removed from any of my records or books of reference, except for a quick glance at the first issue of the Journal of January 1949. As I read my first editorial and the launching message from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, then Arthur Creech Jones, I realised how long ago 1949 was. I realised also how much has happened since that first issue and how remarkable it is that the Journal has remained alive and flourishing through all the changing needs and conditions of the most dramatic and revolutionary quarter of a century in the history of Britain's overseas responsibilities.

Journals, like other human institutions, only survive as long as they meet a real need and a real demand. That the Journal has survived and remained effective is an enormous tribute to all my successors as editors who have skilfully adapted their policies to keep in tune with changing demand. These adaptions have included two changes of title from the original Journal of African Administration, which survived from 1949 to 1961, to the Journal of Overseas Administration in 1961 and again to the present title of Journal of Administration Overseas in 1966. It is significant too that the Journal has so long survived its parent ministry, the Colonial Office.

Although I still have received and followed the Journal through its different phases, I naturally look at this time to its origins and these we find in the African Studies Branch of the Colonial Office. The Branch was set up in the African Division of the Colonial Office in 1946 immediately after the war. In modern parlance it might have been called the "C.O. African Think Tank". In fact one of its members was dubbed "thinker" by his C.O. colleagues. It was started in 1947 and its first assignment was to provide a secretariat for the African Governors' Conference of that year, and to assist in preparing the papers on subjects for discussion by the conference. The following year it performed a similar service for the African Conference, which was a conference of delegations from all the Legislative Councils of the British African territories of that time, so at an early stage the Branch was involved in questions of longer term political and general development than were envisaged in its original remit, which was to provide a service for officers in the field on matters with which they were particularly concerned, namely local government, land tenure and native law. The service required was to provide machinery for liaison and consultation between field officers in different parts of Africa who were facing similar problems; to provide for them help and advice by links with academic and other experts researching and working in these fields; and to give them access to material already

available or as it emerged from time to time on subjects of professional interest to them.

The material available was in broad terms the experience of the field officers themselves, the experience of people working in comparable fields such as in English local government, records in district or government offices, the results of research or investigations. The Branch's first problem was how to draw on these sources and disseminate the results. The first step was the appointment of two research assistants. The first was Ronald Robinson, who was at that time assisting Margery Perham with the editing of her series on the African Legislative Councils. He joined the Branch at a very early stage and from the start made a really significant contribution which lasted over a period of several years. He was later joined by Louis Branney from the Foreign Office Library, who also made an important contribution. An Executive Officer was also added to the staff to supervise the Branch library, records and clerical work. The first was Miss Lillystone who was succeeded by Miss Swan, Miss Nunn and Mr. Barnes, all of whom gave devoted and valuable service to the development of the new Branch.

In the late forties there was developing in the universities a strong interest in Africa and in research in African subjects. The Branch was interested in encouraging this and in profiting from the results of the research work. It therefore developed many academic contacts and was able not only to assist academics in obtaining material or in making useful contacts but also to suggest to them areas of priority in which administrative problems required research for their solution and also to ensure that the research work done should come to the notice of governments and officers to whom it would be useful.

To meet these several needs three distinct steps were taken through the Branch. Three advisory panels were set up in the Colonial Office under the chairmanship of Lord Hailey to advise on matters relating to local government, land tenure and native law. The panels included experts and scholars working in these subjects both from the United Kingdom and from overseas. The panels continued for several years to keep these three subjects, so vital to development in local areas overseas, under continuing review and to advise on specific questions put to them.

The second step was to introduce the Colonial Office Summer Schools on African Administration, the first of which was held at Queen's College, Cambridge, in August 1947 on the subject of Local Government in Africa. This meeting was very successful and inaugurated a long series of similar schools held at Cambridge on varying themes. These continued annually for several years with their form and function changing to suit the changing needs of the times. The Summer Schools in the early years were designed to provide an opportunity for British field officers from the various territories in Africa to meet and discuss their problems. An invitation was also extended to some officers from territories outside Africa and to representatives of foreign governments with overseas responsibilities. In addition academics active in the subject area under study at each particular conference were

invited, together with other experts with special interests. The African Studies Branch played an important part in the early Summer Schools by providing the secretariat and also in providing background papers for discussion. The Summer School series was eventually succeeded by the Cambridge Conferences on Development. This new series was conducted under the chairmanship of Ronald Robinson who is now Beit Professor of Commonwealth History in the University of Oxford and who, as a member of the African Studies Branch, had contributed much to the success of the earlier series of Colonial Office Summer Schools. The last of the Cambridge Conference series was held in 1972 by which time the detailed subject matter and the membership of the conferences had vastly changed since the first Summer School of 1947. However, the general purpose and theme was the same – the advancement of developing territories overseas by the exchange of ideas between experts.

The third step was the introduction of the Journal. From the time of its inception the Branch prepared papers on a wide range of policy and other matters relevant to its fields of special interest in Africa. Many of these were prepared for the panels and conferences already mentioned; some were written in response to particular enquiries from governments or from individual officers. There was, however, a number of papers which were accumulating on the files of the Branch which it was felt would be of interest and use generally to officers in the field. Some, from time to time, had been given a limited circulation but the need for a regular medium to carry such papers was beginning to emerge. There were problems which seemed likely to delay for several months the floating of a printed Journal so the Branch started a typescript "Digest of African Local Administration". Four quarterly typescript numbers were issued in 1947-8. Meanwhile negotiations were in progress with H.M. Stationery Office on the basis of how many copies would have to be sold at a given price to make the Journal self supporting. Approaches were made by Andrew Cohen, then head of the African Division of the Colonial Office, to each of the British African Governments and between them they guaranteed to purchase the required number for their officers. The way was clear to go into print at the beginning of 1949 with a guaranteed market and no financial risk. This was an important point because the Colonial Office at that stage was about to launch "Corona" which was a rather more general monthly magazine for the Colonial Service as a whole. The Journal of African Administration on the other hand was proposed as a professional journal for the African administrator. The Colonial Office felt that it could not sponsor financially two new publications at once. The more general magazine had prior claim and the Journal had therefore to be guaranteed to be self supporting from the start. We hoped that the Journal would not only provide the liaison and exchange of experience and information between officers for which we were looking, but would also make an appeal to academics working in the relevant areas and to other informed and expert observers. This hope was fulfilled and though the function of the Journal and its readership has undoubtedly changed over the years, and its scope has spread beyond Africa, the demand for a professional journal in administration overseas clearly remains as real today as it ever was and for this reason the Journal continues to flourish.

I cannot end this brief note of the background against which the Journal was born without a mention of the part which Andrew Cohen played in the activities I have described. He was during the four or five years which contained these events, the Head of the African Division of the Colonial Office. His was the imagination which saw the possibilities of the Journal and the other activities of the Branch; and his was the drive that ensured that they were put into effect. Without him it is safe to say that there would have been no Branch, no Panels, no Summer Schools and no Journal. That so much of this structure of activity survived the immediate circumstances which led to its creation is a justification of the projects themselves and a tribute to the man behind them. It was a great privilege to work in the African Division with Andrew in those stimulating days of post-war thinking about the future of Africa. The Journal is a worthy and continuing memorial to his leadership at that time; and it is with the happiest memories of those days that I congratulate the Journal on achieving its 25th anniversary and wish it continuing success in the future.

Service in Three Fields

By A. L. ADU

Mr. Adu rose to be the first African Head of the Ghana Civil Service, became Secretary General of the East African Common Services Organisation, the UN Representative in Tanzania and finally Deputy Secretary General of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

It has often been said that the British made a lasting impact on the administrative structures, procedures and attitudes in the states which were formerly their colonies. Developments in these states after independence, and particularly the divergent political systems and philosophies that have emerged, are bound to result over a period of time in wide differences in administrative systems. This is inevitable. The colonial administrative system was effective in matching the objectives set for it by the imperial power. It demonstrated remarkable flexibility and effectiveness when it was adapted to carry out the very different objectives of self-government and independent regimes. It is now generally accepted, however, that new principles for the structures of the government machineries and of the public services should be developed to make them effective in carrying out the policies for new political, economical and social objectives declared or defined by Governments of the new states.

Even so, there is bound to be an historical continuity between the past, the present and the future and some enduring strands in the British administrative heritage would be bound to characterise the systems of all these states. Indeed, as one experiences the situations in Commonwealth states, one is impressed by the number of characteristics in the administrative systems that are shared in common. States as far apart as Canada and New Zealand, Ghana and Western Samoa, Malaysia and Swaziland have so much in common in this field that there is normally no major problem for a practitioner in one to translate himself into the other as the need arises.

This article discusses direct experience in three fields – Ghana, The East African Common Services Organisation (now the East African Community) and the Commonwealth Secretariat. In these three fields, though the objectives were different, the administrative systems in the years of this direct experience – up to 1970 – had a great deal in common. The administrative machines were of the same general structure following the pattern established in Britain by the British in all their former colonial administrations. The public service structures were also in the same mould. The classification systems in the public services, the service procedures, the standards, the disciplinary codes, the training philosophies, etc., were remarkable for being very similar. There were naturally wide differences reflecting the different objectives which the Government of Ghana, the East African Common Services Organisation and the Commonwealth Secretariat pursued or were established to pursue, but the building materials of their structures and the methods of construction of their respective edifices were not very different.

Thus it became possible to transfer from the service of Ghana to that of the East African Common Services Organisation and later to the Commonwealth Secretariat with remarkably little difficulty in becoming effective within a short time of introduction to each of the new organisations. There were no problems of language, all the newly-found colleagues were operating in the administrative system one was used to, the procedures, codes and standards were remarkably familiar and the "vocabulary" of administration was the same.

It is commonplace to say that shared administrative systems and machineries of government constitute part of the strength and cohesion of the Commonwealth. Any one who has had the experience of working with a number of governments and organisations in the Commonwealth does realise in practical terms, however, how valuable these institutions which are shared in common are. The cost-efficiency and cost-effectiveness of persons from the Commonwealth who give their services to other Commonwealth governments and organisations should be in principle – and have been demonstrated many times in practice to be – greater than of those from other experiences. They are able to translate themselves into local situations more quickly and to apply their skills, knowledge and expertise to service widely different sets of national and international policies, objectives and challenges such as could be found in the situations in Ghana, in the East African Common Services Organisation and in the Commonwealth Secretariat.

In Ghana, the country moved rapidly from colonial administration before 1951 through a period of self-government to independence in 1957. This period was characterised by major restructuring of the institutions of government to prepare them to undertake the very different objectives of independence. It is accepted now that these adaptations did not go far enough to prepare the institutions for the long-haul responsibilities of independence. Nevertheless, the transition period from colonial status to independence released fresh spiritual and emotional energies which carried those who manned these institutions through to remarkable feats of achievement. Public servants matched the challenges of independence with great competence, initiative, devotion to duty and industry even if gaps in their knowledge and skills resulted in a certain degree of inefficiency and wastage of resources.

The first major challenge in Ghana in this period was to consolidate the political independence brought about by the hand-over of power to the people acting through the usual political and government institutions. It was critically urgent that development in the direction of generating a sense of nationhood among people of different ethnic groups and regional loyalties should be organised. People should feel proud to call themselves Ghanaians and not just Ashantis, Dagombas or Ewes. Internal conflicts which had plagued the country in the two years prior to independence had to be contained and so remove the dangers of tribalism and regionalism. That most people in Ghana think of themselves as Ghanaians first is an indication that this challenge was successfully met.

One of the early challenges thrown up by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister and President, was the determined effort to buttress

political independence with economic independence. He believed that political independence was meaningless unless the country achieved also economic independence. Without this, the country would degenerate into becoming a client state of Britain. A top priority policy measure was therefore to accelerate the pace of economic and social development and this was carried out on a broad front. Infrastructure institutions like the central bank, the national commercial bank and investment financial institutions to promote industrial and agricultural development were rapidly set up. Communications in roads, radio and telecommunication, civil aviation and harbour development were given great impetus. Industrialisation became almost an obsession since it was believed that Ghana had to have a strong industrial base to be a viable economic unit.

Social development also received a great deal of attention. The accelerated education plan was implemented vigorously to give the country a proliferation of elementary and secondary schools and a much-expanded system of vocational, technical and university education. The scholarships programme for higher and professional training also grew phenomenally. Community development achieved nation-wide impact.

A number of parastatal bodies and corporations were established to promote development in various sectors of the national economy. These included marketing of produce and timber, fishing, large scale farming, construction and road building, publishing, insurance, industrial enterprises in bricks and tiles, cannery, distilleries, electronics, footwear, glass manufacturing, meat products, paints, pharmaceuticals, vegetable oils and sugar manufacture.

In some cases, the Government entered into partnerships with private companies while in others there was state participation in already-existing enterprise. This happened in such enterprises as textiles, soap, breweries, rubber estates, tyres, cement works, match works, aluminium products and petroleum refinery.

To ensure that the Government was in the position to execute and control all these new developments, a great deal of attention was given to the development of the public services. The programme of Africanisation was further accelerated so that within three years of independence all command positions in the public services were held by Ghanaians who thus were placed in effective control of executive functions within the policy directives of the political arm of government. The Africanisation of the public services was just one aspect of the whole process of Africanising the government. Nkrumah's policy was to achieve African personality both in internal and external affairs, so that the Ghanaian and his institutions would reflect, where possible, the best that imported and modern techniques, technologies, skills, institutional arrangements and knowledges could successfully graft on to the native African stock in its traditions, institutions and attitudes. Thus nationalism in domestic policies became a dominant influence and "colonial mentality" became a term of abuse.

The whole of this period was dominated by the personality of Nkrumah, a towering political figure who not only impressed his dynamism on all

activities of the government but who also projected Ghana into African continental politics and international affairs. This was the period when Ghana spearheaded the movement for the emancipation of the African Continent from foreign rule, when the idea of African Unity was revitalised and the conference of African Heads of Government and nationalist movements were promoted, when Africa was split between the Casablanca Group and the Monrovia Group, when the movement towards the formation of the Organisation of African Unity started, when the abortive Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union was created, and when positive neutralism and non-alignment in world affairs became the fashion and almost a political religion. It was the period also of the Congo crisis which aligned African political endeavours against the forces of secession and balkanisation.

Throughout all this period, the top officials in the Ghana administration and the foreign service were deeply involved and highly committed to all the developments promoted by their Government, and their performance on the domestic scene and in international and African forums often excited favourable comment and sometimes admiration.

The contrast between service in Ghana and service in the East African Common Services Organisation was great. Only Tanganyika was independent by then (1962), Uganda was making rapid progress in that direction whereas the outlook in Kenya at that particular time was not at all promising. To translate from the highly charged political climate of Ghana into the more pragmatic and sober system of the Common Services Organisation was a refreshing experience. This is not to say that there were no difficulties and excitements, but the fact that the Organisation, in spite of its new political direction was still dominated by expatriate staff, took one back to colonial attitudes and standards.

The East African Common Services Organisation (whatever the future of the Community turns out to be) will be seen in the historical perspective as a remarkable achievement and as a tribute to real political foresight and sound statesmanship. Tanganyika's leadership, dominated by President Nyerere, decided, when their country became independent in 1961, that, to preserve the essentials of the economic and social co-operative arrangements which served the three territories so well under the East African High Commission system, they should be prepared to surrender part of their newly-won sovereignty to a Common Services Organisation. The wisdom of the then British Government and the statemanship of the political leaders of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya together fashioned institutional and statutory arrangements which made it possible for the Organisation to come under the control of the elected leaders of the three states without any interference from the British who still had responsibility for two of the member states. The former British West African states of Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia were unfortunately not blessed with this quality of statemanship when Ghana became independent ahead of the others. There are, of course, special reasons favouring the smooth passage of the East African co-operative institutions, which included also the common market and the Currency Board. But, without the political will, it would have

been so easy for each country to decide to go its own way on attaining independence, as happened in West Africa.

The East African Common Services Organisation was a quasi-federal body which enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy from its partner states. It had its own governing organs: The East African Authority constituted by the Heads of the three Governments was the highest governing body and its decisions were final. The three Ministerial Committees covering all the functional areas of responsibility took decisions on policy and strategy. The Secretary General and the heads of the autonomous administrations – Railways and Harbours and Posts and Telecommunications – were charged with executive responsibilities and were, in these, answerable to the Ministerial Committees and ultimately to the Authority. The Central Legislative Assembly passed bills which, on being assented to by all three Heads of State, became laws effective in all the three states without further ratification.

The services which the Organisation had responsibility for were major and important. The main ones were: Railways and Harbours, Posts and Telecommunications, Civil Aviation, Meteorological Services, the East African Airways, Research Organisations in the agriculture, forestry, veterinary, fisheries, medical and industrial fields, economic and statistical intelligence services, Locust Control, the East African Court of Appeal and certain functions in relation to the then East African University. The organisation also ran the Income Tax and Customs and Excise Services which collected, for each state, the appropriate customs and excise duties and income, company and other taxes in accordance with the appropriation laws of the state. The financing of all these services was so organised as not to undermine the autonomous status of the organisation. The combined budget of all the common services was then comparable in size to that of the budget of a partner state.

Obviously, the operation of the Organisation required considerable efforts to reconcile the conflicting interests of partner states, and, consequently, organising consultation and informal negotiations between the representatives of the three Governments at all levels were a regular feature of the functions of the staff. This task was made comparatively easy, however, by the tremendous goodwill for co-operation that existed in all parts of East Africa and therefore the political will to decide on what was in the best mutual interests of the area was very high. This spirit led, in 1963, to a premature decision in principle to proceed to full federation for East Africa which, because it could not be implemented, had a temporary adverse effect on goodwill all round.

The East African Common Market was not a direct function charged to the Common Services Organisation. It remained, until the East African Community Treaty was negotiated and became effective in 1967, an informal arrangement managed by the three governments. The East African Currency Board, while it existed, was also run outside the Common Services Organisation, although the Secretary General was by convention Chairman of the Board.

The new Secretary General of 1962, as the first African to head this inter-state organisation, had the task not only of consolidating its position, but, more important, in all its operations, of reinforcing the spirit of co-operation among the partners and so justifying the faith which their leaders and people had in the critical role it had to play in their economic and social development. This meant that all the institutions, administrations and departments of the organisation should be organised to be directly involved in inter-state as well as national programmes of development and to be efficient and effective instruments for this purpose. It also meant a determined endeavour to re-orientate attitudes towards the aspirations of the new and emerging partner states. This was not an easy task given, at this early stage, the predominance of expatriate staff in all the institutions, administrations and departments of the Organisation. But considerable progress was made in the right direction within a short time of two years.

Another challenge was to maintain a balance between the interests of the partner states within the Organisation. This was extremely difficult since the three states were in different stages of the development of their resources and manpower. Also, past development of infrastructure arrangements in institutions, communications, industrialisation and administration had loaded the dice very much in favour of Kenya. The fact that the headquarters of the Organisation was in Nairobi itself tended to favour Kenya. Programmes had to be organised which were designed consciously to distribute benefits and results in as balanced a manner as possible. This principle affected appointments to posts in the Organisation, the location and the distribution of institutions and functional units, the financial arrangements, the sharing of any results from the efforts of any part of the Organisation, the distribution of resources, and arrangements for meetings of the Central Legislative Assembly and committees and consultations. Care too had to be taken to ensure that the interests of any of the partner states was consulted in all developments however insignificant they might appear to be.

A major challenge too was to initiate and accelerate the process of Africanisation of the institutions of the Organisation. In early 1962, virtually all the senior positions in the Organisation were held by expatriate staff and the middle grade jobs were held by Asians. The Africans were thinly scattered among these two layers of the administration but were mostly to be found in the juniormost positions. The situation was obviously intolerable and had to change rapidly. The problem of course was the limited availability at that time among Africans in East Africa of the administrative, technical and professional skills required for the higher, and even intermediate, levels of responsibility. The Secretary General had to compete with the Governments of the partner states for the limited trained manpower available and had to persuade Governments to agree to share, by transfers and secondments, some of their senior public servants with the Common Services Organisation.

At the same time, it became important to ensure that expatriate and Asian staff were kept in good heart and felt reasonably secure in their employment for the periods in which their services were still required. Furthermore, their goodwill and co-operation were needed to provide training and directed experience to Africans who were being appointed into the Organisation.

By the end of 1963, considerable progress had been made in the programme of Africanisation and this had been made easier because there was a real spirit of co-operation among the expatriate staff, particularly from those in control positions. The same whole-hearted co-operation could not be said to have come from the Asians, but they raised no major obstacles to the programme.

It was inevitable that strains and stresses in relations between the partner states should always be a fact of life for those who ran the Common Services Organisation. The political philosophies and economic policies of the member states were not the same and reconciling interests was consequently always a struggle. But the goodwill and will to co-operate remained strong. Moreover, the Common Services had become so much an integral part of the economic and social infrastructure of all states that the cost of dismantling them would have been higher than any politician was prepared to propose seriously to his people. And indeed when the association was faced with a really serious threat of disintegration in 1965, the Governments of all three states reacted by setting up negotiating machinery with a neutral chairman which finally succeeded in evolving the East African Community Treaty, making the association even stronger than it had been before. It has recently come under new tensions and this year the Income Tax Department has ceased to become a Community responsibility. Faith in the objectives of the Community is however still very strong.

The Commonwealth Secretariat was again a completely different kind of experience. For someone who had been used to administering policies with results which he could relate directly to identifiable persons or groups of persons, working in an organisation whose activities only related to governments was at first very strange. It was difficult to appreciate that there was a real sense of purpose in what was being done. Governments appeared rather impersonal whereas people were real and one wished to feel that the issues into which one was putting a lot of effort would result in people becoming directly affected for the better. An ex-colonial administrator with experience of working with people at the grass roots could not at first reconcile himself to the kind of objectives the Commonwealth Secretariat was created to work for. His experiences in his national foreign service and in the East African Common Services Organisation were not enough to prepare him for this new kind of responsibility.

Nevertheless, there were vital functions to be carried out if one believed in the idea of the Commonwealth. The Secretariat had been set up on the initiative of the new states of the Commonwealth who wished to have a machinery of co-operation which was seen to be independent of the British Commonwealth Relations Office.

There were conflicting views on the role of the Secretariat. There were those who wanted it to be no more than a conference servicing and liaison organisation. Others preferred a Secretariat which would exercise initiative in putting practical meaning into the Commonwealth, which would encourage the channelling of resources for development from the more advanced to the less developed members and which would improve the machinery of

consultation among the member governments. The Agreed Memorandum – the constitution of the Secretariat drawn up and approved by Commonwealth Heads of Government in 1965 – did not provide a clear guide to the Secretariat staff members on the extent to which they could exercise initiative.

And so the early months of the Secretariat were difficult ones – sometimes frustrating ones – during which it attempted to achieve its own personality which could be accepted by, or at least be tolerable to, the member governments. In the face of a certain degree of resistance from certain officials in the Commonwealth Relations Office who took time to get used to the idea that they were no more responsible for managing the Commonwealth, progress was at first slow and painful. A further problem related to the generation of a team spirit in the organisation. Although there were no difficulties over administrative structures, procedures and practices, there were differences of national attitudes, temperaments and susceptibilities which had to be harmonised to permit the team spirit to evolve.

Every member of the founding staff was however conscious of the need to demonstrate early in the life of the Secretariat that it justified its existence by results and that the resources contributed to it by member states were applied to create a useful machinery for co-operation and consultation. There was need to initiate programmes of action, acceptable to governments, which would make useful contributions to the development, where appropriate, of most member states or which would provide access of the less endowed states to the wealth of information, knowledge, experience and skills of the more advanced members.

A number of ways of achieving this objective were explored and some of them proved successful and exciting. A series of studies were undertaken by the International Affairs and Economic Divisions of the Secretariat which, combined with a modified seminar approach with the appropriate officials of the High Commissions contributing their expertise, produced source documents on such subjects as Disarmament, the Vietnam conflict, the European Economic Community, the Sino-Soviet conflict, and situation reports on a number of problem areas. These were accepted by many governments as making significant contributions to their sources of information for policy formulation.

The Rhodesian crisis of late 1965 gave to the Secretariat the most significant early involvement in Commonwealth affairs. The Secretariat organised the extraordinary meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lagos in January, 1966, at which the decision was taken to set up the Rhodesia Sanctions Committee. The studies carried out by this Committee and the consultations following its reports resulted in the initiatives taken in the United Nations Security Council for the imposition first of selective and, later of comprehensive sanctions against Rhodesia. The Secretariat was equipped to service this Committee and to provide most of the studies upon which its proposals were based. The Secretariat was the main machinery which ensured that the Rhodesian crisis remained an active Commonwealth concern.

Gradually, the Secretariat began to achieve significant successes in putting "flesh and blood" on to this Commonwealth framework machinery of co-operation. It took time to get the rich governments to accept the need to use the Secretariat as an instrument for supplementing their own technical aid efforts. By 1967, this was achieved and a modest programme of technical aid had been established. This has now grown into the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC) with substantial resources contributed to it by all member states. Trade promotion also became a concern of the Secretariat and progress in this though slow became increasingly significant. Commonwealth co-operation in the fields of education and health also grew appreciably and the periodical conferences of Education and Health Ministers made important contributions of substance to the development of member states.

Similarly, in the fields of information and programmes affecting the youth, the Secretariat initiated action which eventually received widespread support.

Britain's decision to join the European Economic Community prompted the Secretariat to provide its services for undertaking studies on the likely effects of Britain's entry on the economies and trade patterns of member states. The Secretariat also prompted consultations among, particularly, associable states on courses of action open to them. The Secretariat's initiative in this area in the early days was not always welcomed and its continued efforts did not prove to be as fruitful as it was hoped.

The role played by the Secretary General and his small international team in the attempt to bring peace in the Nigerian Civil War was an example of what the Commonwealth could do to resolve conflicts affecting any or some of them. Both sides in the conflict accepted the good offices of the Secretariat over many months when constructive negotiations between them took place. That the Secretariat failed in the end to achieve a solution was not due to lack of effort but rather to the intractable nature of the problem, and therefore the difficulty of generating the spirit of compromise.

Throughout the first five years of the life of the Secretariat, it had to contend with serious questioning by some responsible people in nearly all member states of the need to retain the Commonwealth at all. Some regarded it as a legacy of British imperialism, others considered that it no more served a useful purpose and others still believed that with the entry of Britain into the European Common Market, the association would become increasingly ineffective as a vehicle for economic co-operation and for consultation among its members. In the face of this threat to the cohesion of the Commonwealth, the Secretary General in particular but also other senior staff members had to apply a great deal of effort to putting up a convincing defence of the Commonwealth ideal. That the association has continued in good health and in good heart and in gaining strength through the collaborative programmes which have been promoted is a tribute to the wisdom of its member governments but also to the success achieved by its Secretariat.

Heads of Government have consistently demonstrated their faith in the Commonwealth by the support they have given to programmes of mutual co-operation in development, and by the high level of attendance in person by

themselves at their periodical meeting. There is no other international organisation which normally achieves the attendance of as many as twenty-five Heads of Government at its conference for as long as a week or more. That the Commonwealth regularly achieves this level of attendance is a mark of the importance the governments attach to this opportunity for summit consultation.

It has been said that consultation is the life blood of the Commonwealth. What is often not given greater significance in this connection is that this is facilitated by the fact that all the member states have experienced the same traditions of government, the same administrative systems, the same infrastructure institutions in education, finance, trade and communications, the same legal and judicial systems and a number of other traditions shared in common. These make understanding and communication easy and generate a climate which encourages frankness and sincerity in consultations.

It is this same climate of understanding and communication which made possible the effective contribution by one individual to three completely different organisations in terms of their objectives – in Ghana, in East Africa and in the Commonwealth Secretariat. It was an enriching and a rewarding experience, the effect of which will last the life-time of this lucky individual. However much member states of the Commonwealth may diverge from one another in their forms of government, in their institutions and in their administrative systems, the traditions inherited from the British connection in these fields will, many feel sure, prove to be enduring and continue to make their contribution to greater understanding and better communication among their governments and their peoples.

Government in Ethiopia

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THE most salient feature of Ethopian government is its absolute monarchy, in reality as well as in name. This is so despite some comparatively recent Western, democratic and modern innovations such as a written constitution, a parliament with an elected lower house of deputies, a council of ministers, a civil service system, and local government. As declared in the revised Constitution of Ethopia (1955): "By virtue of His Imperial Blood, as well as by the anointing which He has received, the person of the Emperor is sacred, His dignity is inviolable and His power indisputable" (Article 4). He is supreme in all causes, civil, ecclesiastical and military. Theoretically at least, all property belongs to him, all titles are at his bequest, all people of the nation are his subjects. He makes all laws, issues all decrees, and administers the State in all its ramifications through his chosen officials.

The Emperor

The legal title of the present Emperor is: Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Haile Selassie I, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia. In 1972, he and the nation celebrated his 80th birthday. He has been Emperor since 1930 and before that since 1916 was regent and heir to the throne.

The antiquity of his office is unprecedented in the annals of government, ancient or modern. He is the 225th ruler of Ethiopia descended from the Solomonic dynasty which began when the son of the Queen of Sheba and King Soloman ascended the Ethiopian throne as Menelik I in Old Testament days. How much of this is legendary and how much factual history has not been absolutely ascertained in terms of complete chronology, but it is accepted by the Ethiopian people without question and is written into the present constitution (Article 2). In the words of Robert Greenfield "the whole structure of Ethiopian society – Christian church and state – is based upon it"[1].

The absolute power of the monarch originated and stems from the traditional functions vested in him. He is guarantor of peace and prosperity, the defender of national unity and independence, the source of honours and benefits, the Supreme Judge, the Defender of the Faith, the military leader, the head of the executive, the agent of change, and the law giver. This reverence for the Emperor extends to some degree to other "great personages", notably the clergy and the nobility. It has led to an age-old weakness in Ethiopian government – the reluctance to delegate power from the top to subordinates. To allow this, one's status is lowered.

[1]Robert Greenfield, *Ethiopia, A New Political History*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1965, p. 43.

A basic element of imperial power is the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the head of which is the *Abuna*, or archbishop. He anoints the Emperor upon coronation; the Emperor in turn appoints him and the church hierarchy. Church and state are one; the one without the other is unthinkable in Ethiopian minds. Christianity became the official religion of Ethiopia in 332 A.D. The church and the people of the church own a great deal of landed property, taxes from which are used to support the ecclesiastical system. (Decree No. 2 of 1942).

Along with the clergy, the nobility, the traditional élite, are acknowledged as persons of pre-eminent standing. Large tracts of land operated along feudal lines, political strength, and honorific titles still remain, the sign manual of a powerful noble. But he is, like the clergy, dependent upon the Emperor who can dispose land and title at his discretion. Furthermore, in the wake of the trend towards "modernisation" achieved by recent emperors during the past century, both clergy and nobility have declined in power *vis-à-vis* the growing bureaucracy which owes its place in government directly to the Emperor who makes all appointments and issues all regulations.[2]

In "pre-modern" times, there was a total absence of an administrative framework; few formal or fixed institutions: no royal councils, no royal courts, no clear-cut system of taxation or local government, no established army or police force. In fact, emperors were wont to move their headquarters from place to place in order to get the supplies and the security they needed. Travellers as late as the 18th century report seeing a huge complex of yellow tents which housed the imperial entourage. The four major officials of the central government were: the commander-in-chief of the army, the chief judicial officer, the Keeper of the Great Seal, and a personage who stood between the Emperor, who was generally inaccessible, and his people. In fact, the first ministerial framework was created by Emperor Menelik II in 1908. Nine ministries were then established: Justice, Interior, Commerce and Foreign Affairs, Finance, Agriculture and Industry, Public Works, War, Pen and Palace.[3]

Emperor Haile Selassie's reputation as a statesman of the first rank is world-wide; his political leadership in Africa is unquestioned. He was the leading light in the Addis Ababa Conference of 1963 which ratified the principle of African diversity and polycentralism as against the pan-Africanism propounded by President Nkrumah of Ghana. Addis Ababa became the headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity and the UN Economic Commission for Africa, and it has come to be increasingly thought of as the capital of Africa as well as Ethiopia.[4] As early as 1923, Ethiopia joined the League of Nations, a first step by the Emperor, then Regent, to end the nation's centuries-old isolation from the outside world. In 1941 after five

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[1]See James C. W. Paul and Christopher Clapham, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development, A Source Book*, Vol. 1. Haile Selassie University and Oxford University Press, Addis Ababa, 1967.

[2]*Ibid*, pp. 301, 302, 321.

[3]Arnold Rivkin, *Nation-Building in Africa, Problems and Prospects*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1969, pp. 14-16, 199.

years of resistance against Mussolini's Italy, he led a triumphant Ethiopian army back into Addis Ababa. In 1960, returning from a trip abroad, he put down a three-day attempted *coup d'etat* to overthrow the established regime. The Emperor also has been successful in obtaining foreign financial and technical assistance from many sources for many phases of the Ethiopian development programmes. It is no exaggeration to say that he is almost solely responsible for guiding the nation from its traditional, rural feudalism into 20th-century modernism, although much still remains to be done in that respect.

The Written Constitutions

A step of prime importance was the formulation and adoption of the first written constitution in 1931. It was modelled on the 1889 constitution of the Empire of Japan.[5] While limits on the Emperor's powers are hardly discernible, a legislature was established with a senate composed of members appointed by the Emperor from the nobility, and a chamber of deputies nominated by the nobility and local leaders. The powers of this legislature were minimal; it could only discuss, not legislate. The Emperor also was given power to regulate all administrative departments. He continued to appoint all ministers, judges and provincial and other local officials. The Constitution contained a bill of rights: to pass freely from one place to another, to be arrested only according to law, to be able to have cases tried in court, to be protected from unwarranted searches, to have and to hold property, and to petition. But in case of war or emergency, these rights could be withdrawn.

The Revised Constitution of 1955 provided for the election of the chamber of deputies with secret balloting and four-year terms, but all legislation still had to receive final approval from the Emperor. More status was given to the council of ministers as a group and individually, but still the Emperor was supreme in administration. More rights, generally along Western democratic lines, were granted to the people.

In 1972, the nation prepared for its fifth parliamentary elections for the 250 deputies in 134 election districts. The number of candidates was estimated at 2,500; the number of voters at eight million. The Emperor urged voters, candidates and election officers to make the election a success. As there are no political parties in Ethiopia, candidates were "on their own" and the Election Board general manager predicted "the fiercest fight and the hardest campaign" not only because "they want to participate in the task of nation-building but also because the salary of an M.P. is going to increase starting next term".[6]

The National Administration

In the executive branch of government many changes were made in recent years. One of them was the establishment of territorial police not only to protect merchants and travellers, but also to ensure the observance of

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[5]Greenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[6]*The Ethiopian Herald*, August 15, 1972. The present salary of $750E to be raised to $1,500E a month (from $350 to $700 USA).

imperial proclamations and edicts. Increased measures for social welfare, new roads, the establishment of a system of local government, public health, education, and the economic development of rural areas were reflected in the addition of new departments in the central government.

By 1966, nine new major departments had been created in addition to the original nine established in 1908. They were: National Community Development and Local Affairs, Public Health, Land Reform and Administration, Communications, Information and Tourism, Mines, Education and Fine Arts, Planning and Development, Posts, Telegraph and Telephone.[7]

Another modern administrative development, common to all countries, has been the establishment of a number of semi-autonomous agencies grouped around, but not within, the regular ministerial structure. These administer certain specific, usually new, functions for the imperial government. All of them came into being after the Italian occupation ending in 1941. They were: The State Bank of Ethiopia (1943), the Agricultural Bank (1945), Ethiopian Airlines (1945), the Ethiopian Grain Board (1950), the Highway Authority (1951), the Development Bank (1951), the Imperial Board of Tele-communications (1952), the University College of Addis Ababa (1954), the Haile Selassie University (1961), the Awash Valley Authority (1962), and the Livestock Meat Board (1964).

The budget of the Imperial Government for 1971 estimated returns of $715 million E, and expenditure of $753 million E.[8] Ordinary revenue, $520 million E, included: direct taxes ($125 million E), indirect taxes ($148 million E), taxes on foreign trade ($182 million E), charges and fees ($15 million E), property and investment returns ($28 million E), miscellaneous ($1 million E) and employee pensions ($6 million E). External assistance amounted to ($93 million E), and capital receipts, loans and credits ($103 million E).

Expenditure included: $20 million E for general government, $93 million E for national defence, $88 million E for internal order, $8 million E for foreign relations, $20 million E for finance and planning, $2 million E for public buildings, $205 million E for economic services, $160 million E for social services and $69 million E for other items.

The Judiciary

The third branch of government, along with the executive and legislative is the judicial. By terms of the Administration of Justice Proclamation, the following courts were established.[9]

(1) The Supreme Imperial Court. This includes the *Afa Negros* as President and two judges of the High Court appointed by him.
(2) The High Court. The judges of this court are appointed by the Emperor. It has full civil and criminal jurisdiction.

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[7] Order No. 46 of 1966, *Negarit Gazeta*.

[8] *Negarit Gazeta*, Proclamation No. 28 of 1971. At the present official rate of $2.23 Ethiopian dollars to the US dollar, Revenues would roughly approximate $320 Million and expenditures $328 million USA.

[9] *Negarit Gazeta*, No. 1, 1942.

(3) The Provincial Courts. Each of the fourteen provinces has one, and the Emperor appoints the judges. These courts have limited civil and criminal jurisdiction.

(4) The Regional and Communal Courts. The Local Judges' Proclamation of 1947 established these for the speedier administration of justice in rural areas. There is one judge for each locality who is empowered within certain limits to settle cases by way of arbitration. He is assisted by two "assessors" who may question witnesses and who render their conclusions in each case, but these need not be followed by the judges. The judges are substantial property owners, and are appointed by the higher courts.

(5) The Moslem Courts. *Kadi* courts are established by the Emperor with jurisdiction in Moslem family and domestic affairs. The *kadi* is appointed by the Emperor; there is one in each province. Appeals lie to the *Shariat* court, composed of three *kadis* appointed by the Emperor.

Local Government

The government of Ethiopia is completely unitary.[10] The most powerful ministry of the central government as relates to administrative divisions and local units is the Ministry of Interior. Some of its powers are broad and inclusive, others specific. But in general it must be said that they are all-pervasive, all-inclusive, and all-embracing, indicating how extremely unitary the government is.[11] They include the following: (1) to provide for the establishment of, and to advise, counsel and insure the lawful administration of provinces and other local administration units, including municipalities; (2) to prepare programmes for town planning; (3) to direct and supervise the police and prisons; (4) to ensure the maintenance of peace and order; and (5) to consider and approve the assessment and taxes and fees prepared by the municipal councils for their municipalities; (6) to change the classification of municipalities and towns; (7) to approve all actions of municipal councils including budget proposals, assessment and collection of taxes, the construction of public buildings and public facilities, and measures relating to fire and health protection, and welfare administration; (8) to examine and approve measures for the internal organisation and procedure; (9) to call upon local units to take positive actions desired by the central government; (10) to initiate with other central ministries certain actions on the part of local units in particular fields of activity; and (11) along with other ministries to appoint representatives to be members of municipal councils.[12]

Ethiopia is divided into fourteen provinces. Each is administered by a governor general appointed by the Emperor. He is the central government's

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[10]In 1952 Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia and had its own governmental institutions; in 1962 the Eritrean Federal Assembly was dissolved in favour of complete union with Ethiopia.

[11]*Proclamation 74 of* 1945 and Order No. 46 of 1966.

[12]Besides his local government responsibilities, the Minister of Interior has power to control foreign nationals, to conduct the national census, to supervise the election of the chamber of deputies, and to protect inland waters. *Order No. 46 of* 1966.

principal representative in the province and is superior to all other government officials within his jurisdiction. The governor general takes orders from the Minister of the Interior and transmits them to lower officials: directors, secretaries, governors, "mislenies", and town officials. He also receives orders from other ministers and transmits them to their representatives in his province. He supervises the payment of revenues into the national treasury, and pays all monthly salaries of provincial personnel. Each province has a council made up of ex-officio members consisting of the governor general as chairman, his director and principal secretary, the subordinate governors in the province, the principal officials of various central ministries posted to the province, the chief police officer, and the officers of the municipality which is the capital of the province.[13]

The second level of administration is the *awraja* which was established by order of the Emperor in 1966 in order to relieve the burden of administrative duties of the province. It includes all the towns within its borders except the chartered municipalities. There are at present 102 *awrajas*. These are incorporated bodies given broad powers, *inter alia* in education, public works, water supply, agriculture, community development, trade and commerce. Their activities are closely supervised by both the provincial officers and the central ministries.

The basic governing body of the *awraja* is the council elected by the voters of the *woredas* and town councils. Election administration is in the hands of an electoral commission with the *awraja* administrator as chairman and three members appointed locally. This board establishes polling stations, supplies ballots, and registers voters.

The *awraja* administrator is appointed by the Emperor upon the recommendation of the Minister of Interior and the staffing and activities follow his instructions. While the administrator is an official of the central government, he is also chief executive of the *awraja* and its budget and accounting officer. He appoints all subordinate staff. He acts as chairman at council meetings which are held three times a year. Costs of the *awraja* are borne by the council assisted by some grants from the central government.

Control of the *awrajas* is exercised by the *enderusye*, who is a central government official. His supervision includes inspection and reporting, the approval of budgets and audits, and is based on the following principles laid down by central government: (1) that local administration should be carried out according to law and the decisions of council; (2) that decisions of council should not conflict with programmes and projects which were made the responsibility of the *awrajas* by central ministries; (3) that decisions of council should not endanger the financial stability of the *awraja*; and (4) that national ministries should aid councils in carrying out their functions.[14]

The central government may dissolve the council if it acts against the wishes of the centre.

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[13] *Decree No. 1 of 1942.*

[14] The Local Self-Government Order, 1966, from the *Negarit Gazeta*, No. 9 (B), March 14, 1966.

The *woreda* is the next local subdivision. It is administered by a governor who is chief of the "mislenies" which are subdivisions of the *woredas*. The *Woreda* councils consist of the governor as chairman, the principal secretary, the *wemba*[15] of the *woreda*, officials of the central ministries stationed in the *woreda* and not more than two elders who are appointed not elected. There are 526 *woredas* at present.

The *mislenies* are subdivisions headed by a *mislenie* who is head of the official staff.

There are six municipalities in Ethiopia: Addis Ababa, Gondar, Harrar, Gimma, Dessie and Dire Dawa. In addition there are 99 townships divided into three classes.[16]

The chief administrator of the municipality is the *kantiba* (mayor) or town officer. The Ethiopia Constitution of 1955 (Article 28) provides that the Emperor appoints the *kantibas* from a list submitted to him by the respective municipal councils. The *kantibas* and town officers have certain executive duties and powers: to repair, close and light streets, control dog and animal pounds, administer cemeteries, and to collect taxes and fees. They are responsible for law and order and may command the police force when authorised for municipal duties.

The council of a municipality includes official members of the central ministries nominated by each ministry in the case of Addis Ababa and elsewhere by the governor generals. Seven members of the council are elected by local property owners at a town meeting. No foreigner, convict or bankrupt person may be summoned to such meetings which are called by the town officer or *kantiba*.

The council has power to consider and decide on the following matters (but all decisions must be confirmed by the Ministry of Interior): budgets, taxes, streets, public transport fares, public services such as water, sewers, lighting, paving, markets, slaughter houses, fire protection, theatres, public houses and baths; fire protection, poor relief, hospitals and schools, and anything else considered necessary or requested by the central government. Internal organisation must be approved by the Minister of Interior.

Revenues of municipalities and townships consist of taxes on immovable property, various license fees, and public utility charges including those for fire protection, medical services, and slaughter house inspections. [17]

Municipalities, including Addis Ababa, may be informally organised into a number of *idir* or communities, each with an elective *yesira merwoch* or community council. Town meetings may be observed by travellers along the road where on clear Sundays under a tree their local problems are freely discussed. Both men and women attend these meetings.

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[15]The wemba is the local head of administration in the woreda sub-division.

[16]*Negaret Gazeta*, 4th year, No. 7. Both municipalities and townships come under Municipalities Proclamation 45 of 1945 and the earlier municipal regulations of 1942.

[17]*Negarit Gazeta*, March, 1945, "A Proclamation to Provide for the Control of Municipalities and Townships", No. 74, While the Municipality of Addis Ababa has a separate charter approved in 1954, it also comes under this general proclamation.

The Municipality of Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia; its population is expected to reach a million in the next few years. Its name in Amharic means "New Flower". It was founded by Emperor Menelik II in 1887, the first permanent seat of government in the country's three thousand years of history. Like most cities of the world today, new and old, it faces serious problems. It has not been able to provide the urban services needed for the people who are flocking to the metropolis each year. While the city boasts a hundred modern multi-storied commercial and apartment buildings strung along its few six-lane boulevards, behind them and around them are acres of desperately poor slums in which thousands live without adequate water, sewage, housing, health and welfare services. Here indeed is urbanizism gone berserk. The standard of living for most is desperately low.

The government of the municipality which is housed in a magnificent modern city hall made possible by Italian war reparations, is confronted with three basic constraints. First, finance. For the fiscal year 1970-1971 total revenues were close to $12 million Ethiopian or about $15 *per capita*.[18] About two-thirds of the revenue came from taxes and import duties. The city receives import revenues collected in respect of items used in the city, and taxes collected from large oil companies selling gasoline within municipality. Taxes on real estate are on the basis of a percentage of revenue derived therefrom and on arbitrary valuations on land on the basis of location. Other sources are business and vehicle licence fees, sanitation fees, land survey and registration fees, and income from properties. Some financial assistance in the form of capital revenue comes from the central government and public contributions.

On the expenditure side, almost equalling revenue, more than half was spent on public works, mostly on streets and bridges. About one-third went for administrative expenses. Public health, welfare, recreation, fire services and to a limited, largely nominal extent, Police matters; and these together with retirement pensions accounted for a further one-fifth of the total. The central government is responsible for education and police protection.[19]

In 1970, a count showed a total of 2,507 officers and employees of the municipality. Of these about 1,000 are permanent employees distributed throughout 25 salary graduations. The highest salary is $1,000 E a month; the lowest $30. There are about 1,500 casual labourers and employees, two-thirds on street and road work.[20]

Besides minimal financing, the municipality is beset by almost a total lack of independence and autonomy as should befit a city of its size and

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[18]At the present rate of exchange, this would amount to close to $6 *per capita* in American dollars. The 1971 population of Addis Ababa was estimated at 867,000.

[19]Municipality of Addis Ababa, *Budget for* 1964 E (1971-1972); *Annual Financial Report*, 1963 *E* (1970-1971).

[20]Public Administration Service (Chicago), *Organization and Management of the City of Addis Ababa*, Ethiopia, 1970. This is a thorough and exhaustive survey of the Municipality of Addis Ababa. It was supplemented in 1972 by two United Nations consultants, one legal and one administrative.

importance in a predominately rural nation with about 22 million inhabitants and about 500,000 square miles of territory. The Municipality did receive its own charter in 1954 which was described as "the basis of self-administration" and it is given a broad range of powers which include those granted by general law to all municipalities and townships. It also "shall be competent to attend to all public affairs which have not been defined by law to the powers of other authorities", and "shall be entitled to prepare and adopt laws of local scope and such implementing by-laws which are necessary for the better execution and carrying into effect the laws of the Imperial Government within the area of the City".[21]

However, the *Kantiba* (Lord Mayor) and the Vice Mayor are appointed by the Emperor. The Lord Mayor is president of the Council and the chief executive of the municipality and the "competent representative of the Imperial Ethiopian Government in regard to the capital City of Addis Ababa". The Council has twenty members elected by the voters of the city, plus eight members from different central ministries.[22]

The key to the national-local relationships is the chapter in the charter on state supervision. "The Imperial Government shall supervise the good management of the self-government of the City of Addis Ababa". The Minister of Interior shall "control the lawfulness of the City budget and all legal projects as adopted by the Council". In the event of the city government refusing to execute a duty imposed on it by law, the Minister may order the *kantiba* to carry out the duty concerned but at the charge of the municipality. Furthermore, if the council refuses or neglects to accomplish its functions properly, the Minister may invest the *kantiba* to be Commissioner and to govern the City according to the directions of the Imperial Government without reference to the council. This measure of supervision can take effect only for a period of three months, after which conditions go back to normal.

The third weakness of the Municipality is found in its administration. In this it is not much different from many other municipalities throughout the world especially those within the framework of a unitary government which gives its local units little autonomy. Here in Addis Ababa the Lord Mayor is the chief executive but, of course, he is subordinate to the Emperor, to the Minister of Interior and on occasion to other ministers. Therefore, he cannot initiate his own set of policies, he cannot develop municipal leadership. To this observer, in the limited three-months period in which he worked in the municipality, there did not appear to be a great amount of supervision exercised. However, when the "chips are down" there can be no doubt that the Lord Mayor is in a subordinate position. This is a hindrance to the task of building up the ongoing administration which a growing city like Addis Ababa desperately needs. Furthermore, the Lord Mayor has not been given a modern administrative structure or guidelines for efficient procedure. For example, there are departments within departments, and

[21] *Charter of the City of Addis Ababa*, 1954, Chapter I, sections 1-3.
[22] *Ibid.*, Chapters II and III.

divisions, sections, special units, districts and subdistricts are strung together without any noticeable rhyme or reason. The titles of the administrative officials are even more confusing: vice mayors, governors, directors, assistant mayors, sections chiefs, supervisors and advisers are spread about without much relation between title, function and salary. For most administrative activity, there are no uniform procedures to guide the personnel. A viable hierarchy does not exist, with the result that most decisions, large or small, must be made by the Lord Mayor and his office is overburdened with minutiae that should be handled down the line. Where middle management and the rank and file are "handcuffed" administration tends to become petrified.

Overview

Arnold Rivkin has this to say about nations like Ethiopia that have long histories: "It seems clear that the central cohesion imparted by a more or less shared continuous cultural evolution among a given people over long centuries gives them an important advantage in their nation-building and economic development efforts. Notwithstanding inequities and divisions which may be inherent in these ancient but largely intact cultures, they do provide a type of cohesive and sustaining quality . . . "[23]

This may help to explain the general success that Ethiopia has gained in the modern 20th-century world. And despite the nation's many grave problems and much unfinished business, it has achieved success – to this observer's eye, very great success, in a remarkably short time. Peering into the future, we would like to suggest that Ethiopia within the next century will become a really great nation. It has the makings: a wonderfully beautiful and potentially productive countryside, a psychology of stability, and a patriotic and devoted people.

[23]Rivkin, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

Local Administration in Botswana - Part II*

By WILLIAM TORDOFF

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The District Development Committee

The announcement that District Development Committees (DDCs) were to be set up for every designated district council area and, where appropriate, for district and town councils was made in a presidential circular issued in January 1971.[1] Ten DDCs were established,[2] and their main functions are: first, to advise and co-ordinate the work of all central government departments, local authorities and voluntary agencies in the district with a view to promoting development; secondly, to serve as a planning body for the district; and thirdly, to advise local and central government agencies in the district on development matters.[3] Establishment by administrative direction rather than by statute enables the committees to operate with maximum flexibility both in terms of membership and procedure – obviously desirable because of the wide variation in the character of the districts. The size of the DDC has been deliberately kept small, membership being limited to the district commissioner (chairman) and five others appointed by the minister according to the needs of the district concerned. Among the five are normally the secretary to the district council, and one or more other council representatives, at least one district head of a government department – in most cases, the education officer – and often the Chief or another traditional representative. In addition, the DDC has the power of co-option and this power has been used fairly extensively so that the meetings of several DDCs are attended by 12 to 15 people. The Central DDC has recently felt the need to establish an executive sub-committee, consisting of its charter members, to meet together at short notice and take urgent decisions.[4]

*Part I appeared in our October 1973 issue.—Ed.

[1] *Presidential Circular*, 1970: *District Commissioners, District Councils and Ministerial Staff at District Level. Co-ordination of Work* (Gaborone: 1970) and "District Development Committees": Circular to Permanent Secretaries, issued by the Permanent Secretary to the President on 18 October, 1971.

[2] A separate DDC was established for Chobe District, which had not been given a district council of its own under the Local Government (District Councils) Law, 1965.

[3] "District Development Committees": Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, to all Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments, 3 March 1971 (File: CLG 27/28 (15)).

[4] *Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Central District Development Committee*, 15 May 1972. The charter members of the Central DDC are the District Commissioner, the Tribal Authority, the Secretary of the District Council, the Education Officer, the Agricultural Officer and the Medical Officer.

The Ministry of Local Government and Lands decided that there was no need for a precise reference manual on DDC operations, but that problems should be dealt with as they arose in a series of numbered "DDC Instructions" which would make up a working manual. Thus, Instructions Nos. 1 and 2 (issued in February 1971) covered DDC functions and membership respectively. The third Instruction said that decisions on matters of substance should be made by consensus; disagreement with the consensus decision could, if necessary, be recorded in the minutes. Meetings should be held as often as was required by the volume of business. Most DDCs have in fact met every two or three months: for example, the Southern DDC met five times between its first meeting in July 1971 and May 1972; the North-West DDC met four times between July 1971 and January 1972; and the Central DDC had held seven meetings by the end of August 1972. Each committee is serviced by the district commissioner's office, which circulates the agenda and supporting papers in advance of a meeting; the office also keeps and distributes the minutes. New posts of district officer (development) have been established within the District Administration and by August 1972 such officers were at work in four of the districts. The district officer (development) is the district commissioner's principal assistant in development matters and serves as secretary to the DDC; he also assists district councils with project formulation and the preparation of project memoranda, working closely for this purpose with the council's own development officer.[5]

The Government's decision to establish DDCs was not universally welcomed. At the first meeting of the Southern DDC held at Kanye on 26 July 1971, "the Council Chairman argued strongly that in his view the DDC was a duplication of existing agencies and would weaken the authority of the Council". He believed that the district council should itself become the focus of all development activities and that departmental field officers should, like the district commissioner, be made *ex-officio* members of the Council.[6] Similar sentiments were expressed by members and staff of other councils. Even one district commissioner was initially doubtful whether it was necessary to create a DDC in his district since he felt that the council's own planning committee was doing an adequate job; he also questioned whether the DDC would be effective without funds of its own. Mr. K. P. Morake, M.P., the executive secretary of the BDP who in August 1971 was appointed Assistant Minister of Local Government and Lands with special responsibility for DDCs, and other government spokesmen helped to dispel such doubts. They conceded that while the ultimate aim should be to make the district council the focal point for development matters in the district, the fact was that at present the central government ministries rather than the district council provided the largest component of a district's development plan. It was obviously necessary that those with executive responsibilities within the district should meet together under the chairmanship of the district commissioner at frequent intervals. Government spokesmen em-

[5] Several councils, however, have not yet been able to appoint their own development officer.

[6] *Minutes of the First Meeting of the Southern District Development Committee*, 26 July 1971.

phasised that the existence of the DDC would in no way derogate from the authority of the district council, which would continue to be responsible for drawing up its own development plan. The two bodies were complementary and each would strengthen the other. These persuasive arguments carried weight, but what really convinced the district councils of the usefulness of the DDCs was experience of their working over the following year. At a seminar for district council secretaries held at Gaborone in July 1972, the secretaries agreed that the DDCs had proved a valuable forum for the exchange of information and ideas between the various agencies at work in the district and that they were proving a means of avoiding unnecessary duplication between the efforts of central government ministries and departments on the one hand and the district council on the other.

The minutes of the DDCs suggest that the practice whereby each agency presents a periodic report to the DDC, using for this purpose a pro forma drafted by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, has proved helpful in keeping the other agencies informed of what it is doing and of the problems which it faces. Good examples are the education officer's report to the Southern DDC in November 1971 and the Department of Water Affairs' report to the Central DDC in June 1972.[7] DDC minutes also reveal a high level of relevance in the discussions; but there are occasional lapses, as occurred when, at its third meeting in January 1972, the Kgalagadi DDC discussed staffing matters of the district council.[8].

DDC minutes reflect, too, as sense of frustration in the members, especially when the committee is trying to fulfil its second main function – that of planning. At the second meeting of the North-West DDC in October 1971, one officer complained: "we never know Gaborone's policies", and the Committee's secretary reported that central government Ministries did not respond to requests for information on ministerial projects being undertaken in the district. Mr. Morake, then Assistant Minister in charge of the DDCs and present at the meeting, undertook to investigate this complaint.[9] In January 1972, however, the DDC again expressed its dissatisfaction: "It was pointed out that local branches were often in the dark about their ministries activities and future plans and this was deplored". One central government officer asked that the subject of lack of co-ordination between headquarters and the field should be put on the agenda for the forthcoming district development conference.[10]

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[7] *Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Southern District Development Committee*, 16 November 1971, and *Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Central District Development Committee*, 26 June, 1972.

[8] *Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Kgalagadi District Development Committee*, 12 January 1972.

[9] *Minutes of the Second Meeting of the North West District Development Committee* (Ngamiland DDC), 19 October 1971. Mr. Morake has recently been appointed Minister of Local Government and Lands.

[10] *Ibid.*, Fourth Meeting, 4-5 January 1972. CF. *Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Kwatleng District Development Committee*, 17 March 1972: ". . . yet another example," said one member in a reference to employment, ". . . of Gaborone's characteristic failure to consult at district level." In this particular instance, the member was mistaken since consultation had taken place.

The feeling of frustration in all committees became acute in mid-1972 as each DDC attempted to draw up its District Development Plan for incorporation in the new 1973-78 National Development Plan, to be published at the end of 1972. The district development plan was to include the projects and proposals for the district of all organisations, agencies and bodies working there, including of course the central government ministries. According to a savingram issued to district commissioners and district council secretaries by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands in March 1972, the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning was to provide DDCs with relevant information for all central government agencies.[11] However, scant information was vouchsafed and district commissioners and DDC secretaries appealed to the ministries direct; but again, with a few exceptions, there was no response. The difficulty, of course, was that the ministries had not completed drawing up their own plans and that both they and the DDCs were working to substantially the same deadline for the submission of drafts to the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning – July/August 1972. Present procedures are not satisfactory and must be critically reviewed if the DDCs are to do more than merely rubberstamp centrally-conceived projects.

In any event, it will be some time before planning can be decentralised much beyond the present, modest limits. Staffing is a major problem and is particularly acute in a remote district like Kgalagadi, which has neither a district officer (development) nor a council development officer. Finance is another problem: the DDC does not itself administer development funds or distribute materials or equipment. Though the possibility is now being considered of establishing a block vote out of which small village development projects within a district might be financed, it seems likely that such a vote would be administered centrally rather than by the DDC. This is the practice with the existing Development Grant Fund (standing at R60,000 in 1972), which is shared between district councils and used to finance approved development projects.[12]

The District Development Conference

As we have noted, the Government introduced DDCs to bring about changes in the co-ordination and planning of rural development. They were purposely kept small since it was believed that large bodies would prove unwieldy and ineffective. A disadvantage of limiting the membership of DDCs, however, was that many interests in the district, including the voluntary agencies, would be excluded from their meetings, and this, in turn, would militate against the government policy of encouraging popular participation in development. Early in 1971 the government therefore decided to hold once or twice a year, as circumstances warranted and funds allowed, a district (or rural) development conference which would be representative of all interests in the district. These interests would include

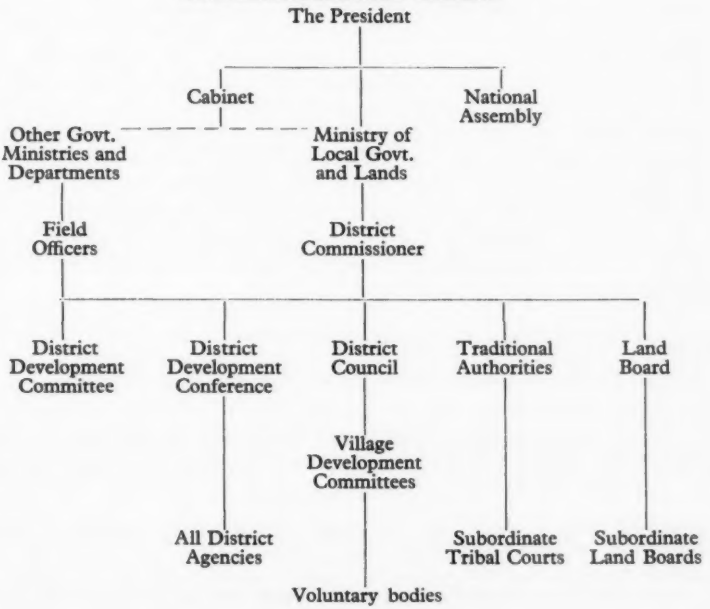
[11] "Preparation of District Development Plans", LG.19/1, 8 March 1972.

[12] District population is taken as a rough criterion in distributing this fund. A vote of R10,000 has been established for Bushmen development in Ghanzi District.

central and local government and the tribal administration, as well as political parties, the churches, and voluntary and commercial organisations.

The first Central District Development Conference was held at Serowe (the district headquarters) on 22 and 23 April 1972 and was attended by between 300 and 400 people. The conference divided into eight groups to discuss a wide range of topics, including obstacles to village development, obstacles to dry-land farming, and obstacles to the development of livestock production. Among the solutions offered to some of the problems raised were the recommendation that the Western Ngwato should be developed so that "big men" might move out of the over-crowded eastern area, thereby dispersing cattle and lessening the problem of over-grazing. Other suggestions were that Village Development Committees (to be discussed below) should be given legal and wider powers, that courses should be held for village leaders, and that in working out development priorities more attention should be given to water, roads and perhaps health. "The contrast between the reality of the conference and the reality of the day-to-day problem of development is large", reported a senior officer of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. It had, he thought, been helpful to have had a frank discussion of these problems, though there was general agreement that for the Central District it would be better to hold a series of smaller conferences at different centres rather than a single, mammoth conference at Serowe. In subsequent months, district conferences were held in other districts – for example, at Mochudi (Kgatleng District) in late July and at Francistown (for the North-East District) early in August, 1972.

ORGANISATIONAL CHART



The Village Development Committee

Other machinery for securing the people's co-operation and active participation in development already existed, but needed to be refurbished. There were, for example, the village development committees (VDCs) and the ruling party. A large number of villages in Botswana now have VDCs; the estimate in mid-1972 exceeded 200 of them. The village headman, the community development assistant, and the elected or nominated councillor of the ward within which the village lies are encouraged to serve *ex officio* as members; for the rest, a VDC is elected by the village *kgotla*, to which it remains responsible.[13] Desirably, a VDC should represent all the interests in the village and the area adjacent to it. This does not always happen, and at present the agricultural interest tends to be under-represented; there might be a strong case for making the agricultural demonstrator an *ex-officio* member of the VDC.

One of the main tasks of VDCs is to identify and discuss local needs, which may have been brought to their attention by voluntary organisations and groups of farmers. The committees draw up plans and proposals for consideration by their district council. If approved by the council, the projects are incorporated in its development plan and submitted to the DDC for inclusion in the district development plan. Since early 1970, the government has insisted that the district council should approve *all* projects, including projects to be financed by the villagers themselves. The reason for this ruling is that any project may involve the council in recurrent expenditure – in providing, for example, a new teacher for a school built by self-help. If the council is satisfied that the recurrent expenditure involved in an approved project can be met (either by the council itself or by the VDC) but cannot provide the capital funds required, application is made for funding through the district council and the DDC. Such applications are then evaluated at fortnightly meetings in Gaborone between representatives of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (which includes the Department of Community Development), the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (which has a Planning Officer responsible for co-ordinating rural development, working to a counterpart in local government, and a donor/partner agency or agencies, such as the Botswana Christian Council and the United States' Embassy.[14] The following, presented in summary form,[15] is typical of a processed application, after vetting by the Development Officer in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands.

Project Title: Sefhare Spring Project

Submitted by Secretary, Central District Council: 30 May 1972.

1. *Project Description*

"Sefhare is located about 50 miles east of Mahalapye at the base of a long ridge of hills. These hills act as the catchment for a group of springs (yield

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[13]Second Draft of Project entitled "Village Development", Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 6 June, 1972.

[14]*Ibid.*

[15]From Ministry of Local Government and Lands' File No. LG 19/5, Vol. I.

250 gallons per hour) in the village which serve as the village water supply . . . The village will carry out the labour involved in fencing, damming and piping. A stone and wire fence will surround the area. The spring will be dammed and covered. Pipes will lead from these dams to a reservoir. A tapstand will be installed below the reservoir. The stock dam will be fed from the reservoir overflow. A vegetable garden and/or orchard will then be planted within the fenced area."

"The project is planned to commence in June and will be complete by the end of September 1972."

2. *Parties responsible:* Central District Council; Sefhare VDC.
3. *Number of People to benefit, direct and indirect:*
   a. For the 3,725 people (1964 census) of Sefhare, this will be their sole source of domestic water.
4. *Value, size and source of local contributions:*
   a. Labour – approximately 25 men/women will work at any one time at a value of approximately R500.
   b. All material will be purchased by the Council.
   c. Funds – the village has raised R300 to be applied to the cost of the materials purchased by Council.
5. *Size and purpose of contributions from other sources:*
   a. Central District Council will provide all transport necessary in supply of materials.
6. *Assistance required from Self-Help Fund:* R1,143-12.
7. *Breakdown of assistance required:* . . . . . "

A donor agency is likely to favour projects recommended for development grants which are of relatively low cost and have a large amount of village initiative and self-help. Once it has approved a project, the agency will normally remit its cheque directly to the council concerned.

Most district councils have benefited considerably from these arrangements for the funding of self-help projects. A council such as the Central District Council, which can draw upon the services of a Peace Corps Volunteer[16] who acts as district officer (development) in the district commissioner's office, has no difficulty in submitting properly made out applications. A few councils are less fortunate and have no local expertise upon which they can rely.

Resting on a non-statutory basis, VDCs tend to vary widely in size and effectiveness. Many of the committees established in Kgalagadi District have collapsed, mainly because of the lack of effective local leadership and the inability of district councillors and headmen to co-operate. In most districts, VDCs tend to concentrate on village affairs (the provision of a new classroom block, for example) to the neglect of the needs, perhaps for a dam, of the area surrounding the village. In the Southern District, the villages are reluctant even to build classrooms and teachers' houses by self-help.[17]

[16]Botswana has made considerable use of volunteers drawn from a number of countries, including the United States, Canada and Britain.

[17]*Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Southern District Development Committee*, 16 November 1971: Education Officer's Report.

VDC projects have been started, but not completed, in several districts, including Kgatleng and North West Districts, and especially Kgalagadi District where, during a tour in February 1972, the Minister of Local Government and Lands found some 200 unfinished projects (mainly connected with the schools) and estimated that R40,000 would be required to complete them. Among the reasons for this state of affairs may be, first, overzealousness on the part of the community development department, whose field officers have tended – more in the past than today – to commit district councils to supporting projects without prior consultation with them. A second reason may be the failure of district councils to give VDC projects a sufficiently high priority. Some councils have in fact approved a large number of VDC projects, often requiring only minor sums of money, and then allowed a year or more to elapse without taking any action on them. Early in 1972, the Ministry of Local Government and Lands therefore reminded district councils that once a proposal, wherever it originated, had been discussed and approved by the council, it became a council project and part of the council's development plan. Such a project should be allocated a priority along with the approved projects.[18] A third reason, though this does not exonerate councils for approving projects which they then fail to support, is of course financial. The Matching Fund established by councils is not adequate to meet the demands made on it by an increasing number of VDCs.

A difficulty facing the district council in the past was how to keep itself informed of village projects initiated by community development workers over whom the council had next to no control. In 1970 therefore the Government laid down the procedure whereby the department of community development should channel *all* self-help projects through the district council whether or not the financial assistance or transport of the council was required.[19] The secretary of the district council was made responsible for laying the project proposal before the relevant committee of the council (normally the finance committee), in order that the committee could recommend to council the order of priority to be accorded those projects for which the assistance of the council was required. It was also his duty to inform the relevant central government department of a self-help project which was of direct concern to it. Since 1970, too, the district commissioner has kept a watching brief over the field staff of the community development department, with the object of supervising their work, making sure that they comply with instructions issued from time to time by the commissioner for community development, and keeping the district council fully informed of their activities. These arrangements for supervision have not been effective and it is now proposed to second community development assistants (who are of course civil servants) to the district councils.

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[18]Savingram: "District Council Responsibility for VDC Projects", issued on 28 February 1972.

[19]"The Role of Community Development and the Contribution it can make to National Development", issued by the Commissioner for Community Development (Gaborone: mimeo., n.d.).

The Botswana Democratic Party

It is much less easy to assess the contribution which the BDP makes to rural development. In the not very satisfactory dichotomy of Coleman and Rosberg,[20] Botswana is closer to the one-party dominant state with a "pragmatic-pluralist" pattern than to that which reflects the "revolutionary-centralising" trend. The BDP is not preoccupied with ideology, though President Khama has recognised the need for African countries to "develop their own guiding ideologies, which are rooted in their own experience and responsive to their own needs".[21] He has therefore put forward four national principles which are to guide the party and nation; these are: democracy, development, self-reliance and unity. Only if these principles are implemented (he has argued) can *kagisano* – a traditional Setswana concept in which the ideals of unity, peace, harmony and a sense of community are enshrined – be achieved.[22] The party is essentially pragmatic in its pursuit of policies both at home and abroad. However, within the limits imposed by what the President has called "the harsh realities of our situation as an integral part of Southern Africa",[23] Botswana in recent years has struck an increasingly independent note in foreign policy and is forging closer links with black African states to the North (notably Zambia) as a means of reducing her dependence on South Africa. Domestic politics (for example, on land) have been anti-traditional in the sense that the powers of the Chiefs have been curbed and over the next decade "some extremely far-reaching reforms in the rural areas" are envisaged in order to achieve social justice and remove existing inequalities.[24]

In organisational terms, where the Coleman-Rosberg differentiating factor is the degree of intra-party hierarchism, centralism, and discipline, the BDP does belong to the pragmatic-pluralist pattern. It has a weakly articulated structure and, because of the constraints of manpower and financial resources, there is only one full-time party organiser outside Gaborone. It does not have strong youth and women's sections and only limited party-government assimilation has taken place. Again, popular participation is partial and intermittent (for example, at election times) rather than high and constant. But here, emphatically, the aim is to transform

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[20] J. S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. (eds.), *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), Introduction, pp. 1-12.

[21] Statement at the Third Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, Lusaka, 8-10 September 1970, in *Non-Aligned Conference: Lusaka, 1970—Botswana's Policy of Non-Alignment* (Gaborone: Government Printer, n.d.), p. 3.

[22] "Kagisano – A Policy for Harmony", Address delivered by President Khama to the 11th Annual Conference of the BDP at Francistown, 1 April 1972 (Gaborone: mimeo.), and "Botswana: developing democracy in Southern Africa", Address by President Khama at Uppsala, Sweden, on 11 November, 1970 (Gaborone: Government Printer, n.d.), pp. 3-4.

[23] "Botswana and Southern Africa", Address by President Khama at Copenhagen, Denmark, 13 November 1970 (Gaborone: Government Printer, n.d.), p. 3.

[24] "A Decade of Achievement – A Decade of Challenge", Speech by President Khama at the BDP Anniversary Conference at Maun, 10 April, 1971 (Gaborone: Government Printer, n.d.), p. 7.

the political scene and to secure the direct involvement of the people in the development and other policies pursued by the BDP Government. "The BDP provides, or should provide", the President has said, "a channel whereby the people can influence the formation and implementation of policy at all levels".[25]

Only in-depth studies at village level will show the extent to which the BDP has effectively penetrated the rural areas and is helping to promote local development. While individual party members, such as BDP district councillors, may be active, such evidence as exists suggests strongly that the ruling party is still far from becoming an effective economic mobilising agent. It may of course be deliberate policy for the BDP to adopt a low profile in village development. So long as Botswana remains a multi-party state, there can be no guarantee that better results would be achieved if the Government chose to buttress the party organisation through the use of government machinery, as was done soon after independence in Tanzania (notably, by making Regional and Area Commissioners the regional and district secretaries of TANU[26] respectively). For the time being at least, because of manpower, financial and other considerations, the Government has decided against either dividing the country into two or more regions and appointing a Regional Minister of State to each of them or politicising the district administration on Tanzanian and (since early 1969) Zambian lines.

Some General Conclusions

The accepted policy of the BDP Government is that local authorities should be developed into an effective instrument of administration and development within their area. Most of the district councils, and to a lesser extent the town councils, are at present a long way from achieving this objective. Councils need to be considerably strengthened in terms of both staffing and finance, and a few of them have still to learn to subordinate a parochial outlook to the national interest – in, for example, appointing staff. None the less, substantial progress has been made over the last three years. After taking advice from a variety of quarters, the government has devised an institutional framework which should help to promote national unity and administrative efficiency. The growth of strong district councils is being encouraged and it is intended that they will increasingly become the focal point of rural administration, responsible for promoting the general well-being and economic development of their area.

Probably the most pressing problem facing the Botswana Governmens in the field of rural development is that relating to land, since present trendt run sharply counter to the the kind of just and egalitarian society to the creation of which the Government is committed.[27] The problem is particularly

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[26] Tanganyika African National Union.

[27] The paragraphs which follow draw heavily on the valuable *Report on Rural Development*, by Dr. R. Chambers and D. Feldman (Gaborone: Government Printer for Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, February 1973), Part II, 41, pp. 111-146.

acute in the Eastern tribal areas, where responsibility for land allocation is vested in the Tribal Land Boards, established under the Tribal Land Act of 1968 and associated legislation and regulations. These Boards, and especially that in the large and populous Central District, have not been able to handle the flood of applications submitted to them. They have reacted in a variety of ways, which include using the traditional, decentralised system of allocation by sub-chiefs or headmen and, in the Bamangwato area, by sometimes approving applications for sinking boreholes without visiting the proposed sites. If, however, the operation of the land boards has not been satisfactory, the fault does not lie with the members and staff of the Boards themselves. The latter do not have accurate information on the present land use situation and have not had the benefit of advice from professional, agricultural and survey staff; moreover, there has been delay in the establishment of the subordinate land boards, projected under the 1968 Act. The result has been that, with each board following its own makeshift procedure, the problems of overgrazing[28] and the deterioration of communal land have become even more serious than it was before the land boards began operations.

At the root of the problem is the growing land shortage and the scramble to obtain land for grazing in the Eastern tribal areas. Syndicates and individuals, who tend to be drawn from the prosperous and influential sections of the community, have applied to the land boards with considerable success for borehole drilling rights (or for water rights for existing boreholes) in the knowledge that this will give them *de facto* exclusive rights to grazing within a five-mile radius of the borehole and in the expectation that these rights will become *de jure* sometime in the future. The effect of this process is predictable: what remains, traditionally, communal grazing land is being appropriated for individual (or syndicate) use; some of those with small herds are being forced to move to the already overgrazed areas near communal water supplies; and the area of unallocated arable and grazing land is being rapidly reduced. Some cattle owners have also applied to the land boards for permission to fence their cattle posts; though the technical advantages of fencing are officially recognised, this move has so far been resisted on the ground that the land is owned by the tribe as a whole.

The land problem in Botswana is no less complex than it is acute. That the BDP Government has frankly recognised its gravity is clear from the speeches of the President and Vice-President,[29] as well as from Government Paper No. 1 of 1972 on "Rural Development in Botswana".[30] In 1972 the Government sought the advice of two Rural Development Consultants (Dr. Robert Chambers and Mr. David Feldman) who gave considerable attention to the land issue, and it passed the Agricultural Resources Con-

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[28]One school of thought, however, believes that the critical problem in the Eastern tribal lands may be under-management rather than over-stocking.

[29]See, for example, the Speeches by the President, Vice-President, and Minister of Agriculture in *Development in Botswana, op. cit.*

[30]"Before all else, the basic considerations must be to halt the deterioration of the land." "Rural Development in Botswana," Government Paper No. 1 of 1972 (Gaborone: mimeo., March 1972), p. 3.

servation Bill.[31] The Government's difficulty is that, while it obviously cannot afford to allow the present haphazard system of land allocation to continue, each of the alternative policies before it is open to some objection and will offend one or another of the interests involved. First, it can allow the further alienation of tribal land, continued however in an orderly way and with proper regard to land use, for the benefit of large commercial farmers; this might be good for the economy but would result in sharp social stratification in the rural areas through the creation of a landless peasantry. Secondly, it can pursue a radical policy which seeks to redistribute land in favour of those ordinary Batswana whose traditional land rights are now being rapidly eroded; in this way, it would offend many of the wealthier and more influential members of the community and might prevent the emergence of a commercial livestock industry. Thirdly, it can take measures which, while falling short of the second alternative, seek to check the present trends and maintain the *status quo* by preventing further land allocation to the already privileged section of the community.

The first of these alternatives is sharply at variance with the BDP's commitment to create a just and egalitarian society and, in the crude form stated here, can be set aside. The Government, however, will remain anxious to promote commercial agriculture; its problem will be how to do so without causing severe social dislocation. The second alternative is in line with presidential and other government statements, but would offend such powerful vested interests both in the urban and rural areas that it might not be practical in political terms. Immediately, therefore, the Government may fall back on the third alternative. Given the rate at which available land is being allocated by the Land Boards, the corollary of choosing it is that speedy action has to be taken if this option is to remain open to the Government.

In Paper No. 2 of 1973, the Government announced its decisions on the Chambers-Feldman Report.[32] *Inter alia*, it stated that a land resource and use survey of Eastern Botswana was already being undertaken, it pledged itself to set up a working party on land policy, and laid down the conditions under which fencing might be erected. It undertook to prohibit until further notice the sale of existing boreholes either by councils or by Government, and said that in future permission to drill a borehole would be strictly controlled and made subject to legislation. The Government also stated that Land Boards would be strengthened by attaching to them specially-trained agricultural staff.

These are necessary, mostly short-term, measures to deal with the immediate land problem. They should give the Government a breathing-space within which it can work out its future land policy. In a "nation of farmers", that policy will be critically important for the lot of the ordinary Motswana. It will also largely determine the kind of society that Botswana is to become.

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[31]The Agricultural Resources Conservation Act enables the Government to control the manner in which land is used for agricultural purposes.

[32]Government Paper No. 2 of 1973: *National Policy for Rural Development. The Government's Decisions on the Report on Rural Development*, by Dr. R. Chambers and D. Feldman (Gaborone: Government Printer, May 1973).

Author's Note: Government Paper No. 2 of 1973 has only just been received; reference to it is therefore limited to the Conclusions.

Quarterly Notes

UNITED NATIONS – *Seminar on New Towns*

1. A United Nations Seminar on New Towns organised by the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning in co-operation with the Government of the United Kingdom was held at Church House, Westminster, London, from 4 to 19 June 1973.

2. The Seminar, with the New Towns Directorate of the Department of the Environment acting as host, was attended by approximately 80 people, including delegates and observers from 22 developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a number of other countries, as well as representatives of various national and international agencies, and consultants and staff members of the United Nations and the Department of the Environment.

3. The programme of the Seminar, which was opened by Mr. Paul Channon, M.P., Minister for Housing and Construction, included the presentation of a number of papers prepared in advance by consultants appointed by the United Nations and the Department of the Environment.

4. These papers, which covered aspects of urbanisation and new town development in both developed and newly-developing countries, were presented under three main headings:

a. Urbanisation Trends and National Policies,
b. Urban Networks in Rapidly-Urbanising Countries,
c. Urban Development in Developing Countries – The New Town Option.

5. Each group of papers was discussed extensively, and a final report was presented to and approved by the participants at the final sessions, the Seminar being closed by Mr. Reginald Eyre, M.P., Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Department of the Environment.

6. One purpose of holding the Seminar in London was to enable delegates and observers, particularly those from developing countries, to see something of the extensive experience of the United Kingdom in new town development, and to examine its possible relevance to the needs and circumstances of their own countries.

7. The programme included visits to eleven new towns in England, Scotland and Wales where participants were given details of the purpose, planning and progress of each settlement and were shown round representative areas of development. They were also given the opportunity to meet and talk with, not only the chairman, members and staff of development corporations, but elected representatives, industrialists, shop owners and other members of the community.

8. The final report, which will be published in due course, contains summaries of all papers as well as the main issues of the discussions. It ends with a series of conclusions and recommendations which, it is intended, will assist individual Governments in determining strategies for urban development, and the role which new towns might play within the development process.

9. The United Kingdom was privileged and pleased to act as host at this Seminar, although doubt was expressed by members of the Department of the Environment and others of the relevance of the British new town experience to the greatly differing needs and circumstances of developing countries throughout the world.

10. However, the visits to the new towns proved to be of considerable interest and value. It was agreed by the Seminar that, although there could be no question of adopting British new town policies, certain aspects of the new town concept as developed in the United Kingdom might well prove of value to developing countries, i.e.:

a. the example of public sector leadership and involvement in development,
b. the planned integrated approach to development, taking into account physical, social and economic considerations,
c. the creation of special agencies with full responsibility and the necessary powers for the planning and implementation of forms of development, and
d. the assembly and acquisition of land for development purposes.

11. The Centre for Housing, Building and Planning of the United Nations and the New Town Directorate of the Department of the Environment are to be congratulated on the highly efficient way in which this Seminar was organised and administered. However, its real success will be judged by the extent to which Governments represented at the Seminar, and others in the developing world, adopt and implement the kind of proposals and policies advocated by the Seminar.

(*Specially Contributed*)

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – *Overseas Services Unit*

The Royal Institute of Public Administration, which was founded in 1922 and has members in many parts of the world, has always been concerned with methods of government and administration in a wide range of countries. Since the 1950's it has developed a variety of services for developing countries and international agencies and, with view to expanding and improving these, it decided in 1972 to establish an Overseas Services Unit under the direction of the Institute's Deputy Director-General. The Unit operates in close consultation with the Overseas Development Administration and with the British Council.

The Overseas Services Unit is equipped to provide: consultancy service, particularly on questions concerned with personnel administration, training programmes and facilities, and management services in the public sector; training courses, both in countries abroad and in the United Kingdom. For these it utilises, and if necessary prepares, teaching materials for the needs of particular countries.

The Unit seeks wherever possible to engage in schemes of creative partnership with kindred organisations in countries where it is providing service.

Consultancy Service

The Unit's permanent staff have mature experience of modern methods of administration, and are familiar with the special problems of developing countries through service in a wide variety of them. In addition the Unit is able, through the close association of the RIPA with the major public authorities in Britain, to secure the assistance of experts in particular administrative techniques for assignments on which it needs to supplement its existing resources.

Courses outside Britain

These courses are organised by special arrangement with governments or international agencies. They may be part of a development programme lasting over several years, or short courses designed for demonstration purposes. In either event the Unit usually requires the collaboration of a suitable organisation in the country concerned, partly to supply essential background information in course preparation, and partly to provide a means of carrying forward in the future the work that the Unit's efforts are designed to foster.

Courses in Britain

The Overseas Services Unit arranges each year the following courses in Britain for public officials from overseas countries:

(a) *Personal Administration*

A three-month course that deals with policy issues arising in the administration of large and complex career services in the public sector.

(b) *Training Administration and Teaching Techniques*

A three-month course for those who are to fill senior posts in training organisations.

(c) *Management Services*

A three-month course to provide a basic understanding of the various techniques now covered by the term management services.

Charges

For services abroad the Unit charges for each consultant or course organiser at a stipulated weekly rate which is exclusive of the costs of travel and subsistence. In January 1973 this was £280 a week. For courses the payment of fees to local lecturers and for the preparation of special teaching materials may also be involved.

British Technical Assistance

If a Government wishes to have the services of the Unit financed under the British Aid Programme, an application should be made to the British Embassy or High Commission. Such applications will be forwarded for consideration on their merits to the Overseas Development Administration in London.

Applications for training to be financed under the British Aid Programme should be made by Governments to the local representative of the British Council or, in countries where the British Council is not represented, to the British Embassy or High Commission.

RIPA Overseas Assignments

The Institute has developed many contacts with overseas countries and international agencies through its membership of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, the consultancy missions and lecture tours of its senior staff members, and the technical assistance for which it has been commissioned. Among the most important of these are the following.

Greece

In the 1960's the Institute undertook planned programmes for the training of personnel officers.

Nigeria

At the request of the Federal Ministry of Establishments, the Overseas Development Administration agreed to finance a series of annual courses designed to develop management services units in the Federal and State Governments of Nigeria. This five-year programme has been undertaken by the Institute in association with the Institute of Administration at the University of Ife. Each year a course is held in Nigeria followed by a course at the RIPA, London.

Iran

Assistance is being given to the Government of Iran to introduce operational research methods into its administration.

Indonesia

A three-year scheme to develop selected Indonesian civil servants as management analysts in the agencies specially concerned with the Five-Year Plan for Economic Development has been designed and is in the early stages of implementation.

Colombia and Costa Rica

Seminars on modern training methods with practical demonstrations of these methods were held at the Advanced School of Public Administration in Bogota and at the United Nations Centre (ICAP) in San Jose in the early part of 1968.

Peru

Evaluation studies of Peruvian public sector training programmes and in-service training units were undertaken in 1972.

(*Specially Contributed*)

UNITED NATIONS – *New Series of Unitar Studies*

This series deals with the subject of relationships between the United Nations and non-UN regional intergovernmental organisations. There seems to be a widespread concern among Governments and the organisations concerned over the possibility of wasteful overlapping of work, which is likely to undermine the effectiveness of existing organisations and strain the financial and personal resources of Governments. UNITAR has been conducting a series of studies on relations between the United Nations and the major regional organisations, with a view to:

i. analysing the basic problems arising from the multiplication of global and regional intergovernmental organisations and the modalities for bringing about a more rational and efficient system of organisations;

ii. analysing the areas of co-operation and the points of competition or jurisdictional conflict between global and regional organisations, and evaluating the effectiveness of existing practices of co-operation, with a view to suggesting methods for improving existing relationships.

The first regional study in this new series, The Relations Between the Council of Europe and the United Nations, has just been published. Another publication now available is a report on a UNITAR Week-end Conference on "Relations Between the United Nations and Non-UN Regional Intergovernmental Organisations".

Source: UNITAR News

BRITAIN – *Colonial Records Project*

The project completed its task at the end of 1972, but work continues on the preparation of guides to the larger collections of papers. Over eighty of these guides have so far been produced. As well as material of general Commonwealth interest, they describe papers concerned with specific territories in East, West and Central Africa, the Middle and Far East, West Indies, Pacific and other areas. Copies of guides concerning a particular region can be obtained from The Librarian, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, where the collections are housed. There is no charge, but refund of postage is welcomed.

Source: The Librarian, Rhodes House, Oxford

CENTO – *Seminar on Budget Administration*

This seminar was held in Tehran, at the Plan Organisation headquarters, from 12-19 August 1972. It was attended by 36 delegates and observers, representing the CENTO countries and the Government of Nepal.

The seminar was chaired by H. E. Mr. Ali Hezareh, Assistant Prime Minister of Iran, and Director, Central Bureau of the Budget, Plan Organisation, ably and wittily supported by the secretary, Mr. Harrison W. Burgess, Economic Secretary, CENTO.

The main purpose of the seminar was to provide a forum for the exchange of information and ideas on new budgeting techniques, and to establish channels for future exchanges of information between budget and planning officials of the CENTO countries.

The Government of Iran, in addition to acting as hosts, fielded a strong delegation who took a leading part in the proceedings, presenting papers on, among other subjects, the organisation for planning and budgeting and public enterprise budgeting in Iran. The paper by H. E. Dr. Mohammad-Ali Toussi, State Organisation for Administration and Employment Affairs, emphasised the importance of budgeting as providing a systematic basis for comparisons among alternatives. Another paper presented by Mr. Mohammad-Bagher Namazi, Plan Organisation, referred to the need for a budget covering all the government's revenues and expenditures, and based on a consistent system of classification and definitions; this would reflect the total availability and use of resources in the public sector, and so would be conducive to optimisation in the overall use of the scarce resources available to the government.

This theme was also prominent in a paper on the management and control of public expenditure in the United Kingdom, presented by the UK representative, Mr. Douglas McKean, HM Treasury.

The US Government, in addition to providing financial and organisational support for the seminar, sent a lively delegation under the enthusiastic leadership of Dr. Jack W. Carlson, Office of Management and Budget. The delegation contributed papers on policy analysis and programme evaluation, the theory and practice of planning and budgeting, and other related subjects. In a paper by Dr. Robert D. Lee, Pennsylvania State University, planning and programme budgeting was summarised as asking of decision-makers that they give lower priority in making decisions to such matters as objects of expenditure and assign higher priority to whether desired consequences were being achieved by governmental programmes. The US delegation played a stimulating role in the discussions, and often delighted the rest of the seminar by their verbal fireworks.

Among the papers presented by a strong Turkish delegation was a detailed exposition of the Turkish programme budgeting model by the only woman delegate, Dr. Gulay Coskun, Ministry of Finance.

Papers on decentralisation of financial control and on organisation for planning and budgeting were contributed by Mr. A. Raouf Shaikh, Finance Division, Government of Pakistan.

The observer from Nepal, Mr. Bhumi Narayan Shrestha, made a valuable contribution to the discussions.

As often, much of the seminar's value proved to lie in the corporate sense which grew up among the participants, and the personal contacts which were made. The administrative arrangements, for which the Plan Organisation was responsible, were admirable throughout.

(*Specially Contributed*)

Book Reviews

African Co-operatives and Efficiency, Ed. CARL GOSTA WIDSTRAND; *The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala*; pp. 239.

This is a collection of the Papers presented to a Seminar on "Efficiency in the Performance of Co-operatives", held at the Co-operative College, Langata, Kenya in November-December 1971, with a major introductory Paper by Carl Widstrand. The countries covered are Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Mauritius.

In the introduction, Carl Widstrand concentrates mainly on some definitions, particularly distinguishing efficiency (mainly economic) from effectiveness (achieving the more general social goals for which Co-operatives may be established); some very difficult issues arise under both headings. If efficiency is treated mainly as a problem of management, including staff recruitment and training, and efficient use of capital and recurrent revenue, there are some important things to be said regarding the internal affairs of Co-operatives; staff are often ill-trained, have poor, if any, career prospects, and, too often, an unhappy relationship with the Committee which manages them – and, be it said, too often mismanages them – to serve the personal interests of Committee members. The low level of internal savings and capital formation has also involved expensive borrowing, or restricted growth of assets, both financial and physical. But there is an external element of management too, and in two Papers[1] (Zambia and Tanzania) the failure of a group of Co-operatives is directly related to inefficiencies of *government*. In Zambia, the programmes of stumping subsidies and of tractorisation were both sadly misconceived and mismanaged by government in the sadly familiar ways – useless land or land out of reach of any market – stumped in order to earn the KW 30 per acre subsidy (total cost KW 977,000); 300 tractors let loose with inadequate driver-training and no provision of repair and maintenance workshops. In Tanzania, gross interference by TANU in using Victoria Federation of Co-operative Unions tractors – the TANU "Block Farms" owed the VCFU 1.7 million shillings in 1965 alone, and an estimated 2 million shillings in 1966. In many other ways Co-operatives have been blamed for the failure of schemes wished upon them by governments, or mismanaged by governments.

"Effectiveness" also dissolves rather uncomfortably into several distinct issues. For example, if the Co-operative is intended to promote democratic leadership, or "participation", it may indeed do so, but chiefly, and almost inevitably, in giving the *existing* leaders – magnates, politicians, lineage heads, patrons, schoolteachers, entrepreneurs, etc. – fresh opportunities of economic or political advancement. As Widstrand has said in earlier books, where the

[1] M. Lungu, *Cooperative Efficiency in Zambia.*
Shem E. Migot-Adholla, *The Politics of Mechansiation in Sukumaland.*

organisation of society is largely "vertical", a new institution tends to recapitulate the vertical hierarchy. "Effectiveness" in terms of equal, common participation seems to belong usually either to extremely primitive societies or to Utopias.

A second aspect of effectiveness can be described in terms of motivation and loyalty. First, does the Co-operative really spring up from below, or is it a thinly disguised tool of government administration? Government certainly needs such a tool, since it is far easier to issue credit, supplies, instructions or subsidies to 100 Co-operatives than to 100,000 individual farmers. Several writers emphasise the deadening effect of bureaucratic supervision.[2] In effect, Co-operation has been regarded by many governments as an instrument for enforcing socialism – "so that sometimes the movement is co-operative in little else than name" (Yash Ghai).

Further, there may often be a difficult clash between the size of a Primary best suited to genuine member interest and participation (local and small) and the size best suited to turnover, capital formation, and economic efficiency (much wider and larger). The Paper by Edward Karanja[3] concerning Northern Tetu brings out this dilemma. But one finds that Governments swing from one position to the other – here, forcibly combining several "weak" primaries "into a more efficient and larger unit", there dissolving a large and democratically ineffective one into smaller, better-motivated local groups.

Apart from some Papers already mentioned for their general interest, it is worth noting that the Papers by Yash Ghai on legislation and by Pheroze Nowrojee on settlement of disputes are extremely valuable and factual papers containing a lot of detailed information on law and procedures which is not often so well described. Papers by J. L. Murungi (Acting Assistant Commissioner for Co-operatives, Kenya) and J. J. Musundi (Secretary General of the Kenya National Federation of Co-operatives) give the more conventional official apologia, with some interesting quantitive information; three Papers from Mauritius concentrate mainly on problems of personnel and leadership, and a Paper from the Co-operative Department of Uganda also deals with personnel and adds an interesting comment on the formation and use of capital. The general Papers from Tanzania contrast considerably. That by the Tanzanian participants is short and critical, dealing, though very briefly, with constitutional, operational, financial, personnel, accounting and audit, education and training, and research and statistical problems. The Paper in the form of a published interview with the Secretary General of the Co-operative Union of Tanzania is a horse of quite another colour, being an exposition of a slightly metaphysical Trinity of Ujamaa, Co-operation, and Tanu. It has a tone at once didactic, dogmatic, and naive which (from its last quality) is no doubt innocent. But it sends, for this reason at least, a slight

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[2]Notably Widstrand, and Leonora Stettner, *Research Priorities in East Africa in Relation to Cooperative Efficiency.*

Yash Ghai, *Cooperative Legislation in East Africa.*

Pheroze Nowrojee, *The Settlement of Disputes in Cooperative Societies.*

[3]Edward Karanja, *The Problem of Amalgamating Cooperative Societies.*

shiver down the spine, like a scent which revives old and unpleasant memories, in this case of earlier Soviet didacticism which ends in the scenes of Solzhenitsyn, once read, never forgotten.

Finally, what emerges? Above all, that a Co-operative in Africa (and for that matter in most developing countries) is an exceedingly difficult tool to handle, whether as a means of economic progress or as a spearhead of socialism; and that it has, in both cases, many and varied proclivities towards failure or abuse. Too closely controlled by Government, it virtually loses its "co-operative" nature; too loosely controlled, commercial immaturity and poor training of its staff and management can lead to disaster. Left socially to its own devices, it is captured by very un-socialist forces; preached as an ideology and supported by a monopoly, it can give very bad economic services to farmers (who perversely prefer those "pirates" the merchants, who offer them better service). Used as a tool for ill-prepared governmental schemes of settlement or subsidy, it shares the obloquy of the inevitable break down. It is really heartbreaking to read of some of these failures – and if any reader wishes for a horror story, the "Case Study of the Mumbwa Building Co-operative", in Appendix B, will wring his heart – so many wholly-avoidable mistakes, so many good intentions gone awry, so much money thrown away in countries where two million shillings, or KW 977,000, is a lot of money among poor people.

Nevertheless, there are two positive things to say. First, this is a process of learning, of growth of a self-governing civilisation; and, *if the lessons are learned* (so many lessons are not learned – especially with tractors and settlements!) much will be gained. Second, there have been also great successes. To what are they due? Perhaps it would be safe to suggest certain factors which do seem to characterise some of the best-known achievements. First – and there does seem some certainty here – a real economic opportunity – some product, or facility (store, pump, transport, dairy, etc.), or process, or marketing system or combination of any or all of these, which is previously non-existent, or scarce, or costly, which can be sold at a remunerative price, or bought more cheaply, by the Co-operative manoevre. Even credit falls within this definition, for it is a facility which must be remunerative both to receiver and giver.

Second, at all its stages of growth, the Co-operative can succeed only with these tasks which are not beyond its managerial ability: for a Primary, in a largely illiterate society, these tasks must be pretty simple; for a Union or Federation, after years of experience, they can indeed be complex, until the point is reached where it is hard to distinguish a large Co-operative, with modern professional management, from a well-run public company.

Third, co-operation involves a loyalty and a self-discipline among its membership at Primary level which is hard to achieve without the support of mutual trust, mutual enthusiasm, and some sense of identification and dedication. The loyalty to a common leader or ideal, or (just as much) the unity against a concrete common enemy, often lies at the root of this.

It is this factor which leads to a last comment, on the question of support and supervision. It is perhaps safe to say that supervision should never seem

to be operational control, though a sanction against corrupt practices – ideally, a legal sanction – is likely to be required. But it is not safe to say that staff support should be withheld. Indeed, many of the most successful Co-operatives have been guided and supported, especially in their early years, by a trained official. Possibly, the extent and nature of support depends upon the complexity of the task which a Co-operative tackles.

Here then, we need research; and, perhaps belatedly, more detailed and more objective research is at last beginning to grow and bear fruit. The Scandinavian Institute has deserved well both of scholars and administrators for its earlier and for this present work. Carl Widstrand and Gören Hyden must particularly gain credit. Raymond Apthorpe's work (at UNRISD), and growing work in England, should be able to carry this investigation to a point when, with some confidence, we can answer the question "In what circumstances, and with what support, and in what spirit can Co-operatives hope to succeed in developing countries?".

GUY HUNTER

Macromancy: The Ideology of "Development Economics", by DOUGLAS RIMMER: *Hobart Paper* 55. *Published by the Institute of Economic Affairs*, 1973, pp. 64; 50 pence.

The story of this pamphlet is in the title. The author has chosen it by analogy with "necromancy". Necromancy is the art of revealing future events by calling up the spirits of the dead. The author considers "macromancy" as a corresponding term to indicate the superstition of trusting statistical aggregates as a sure guide to public policy or future developments.

Many, or probably, most development economists and practitioners will heartily agree with the author in expressing such distrust, and will accept (indeed, have made) many of his criticisms, particularly of development models of the Harrod-Domar type, based on the key concepts of GNP of countries, savings ratios, investment ratios, and capital/output ratios. Even if his criticisms seem at times somewhat stridently expressed, one forgives a good deal of stridency where the language and style are so refreshingly clear. Moreover, this is not flogging a dead horse; many plans and the thinking of many advisers are still dominated by the neo-classical investment model.

Where this reviewer parts company with the author is when he writes off the concern with income distribution and especially with reduction of poverty as a development objective in place of aggregate. GNP as simply "a change in brand names". This is difficult to understand and the author gives no real reason for this derision. One would have thought that this change in viewpoint gives Mr. Rimmer all he is asking for: an emphasis on people rather than "the country"; an emphasis on decentralised rather than centralised planning; a direct concern with welfare instead of abstract aggregates; a turning away from over-concern with investment and capital/output ratios. Beyond this, the recent Kenya Report,[1] for instance, closely parallels, though from a different ideology, the author's concern with "getting government off

[1] *Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya*, published by the ILO, Geneva, 1972.

people's back": Precisely such a change is recommended in government dealings with the multitude of small people in the "informal sector", although "getting government off people's back" is only the first half of a more positive government policy advocated.

It seems a pity that the author should spoil such a clear and convincing case by a stridency which sometimes borders on the absurd. As an example, let us take the following passage:

> "(To deduce that) over a future period the acceleration of economic growth can be engineered by a calculable increase in the supply of such specific inputs is highly adventurous. It is like saying that sufficient air and water will cause trees to grow. It confuses mechanical with biological processes of change. It is an illustration of the "cargo cult" mentality. For so insubstantial are their intellectual foundations, a detached observer might be excused for thinking that all national development programmes are essentially propitiatory; that this character is magnified, rather than diminished, the more comprehensive the programme; and that earlier generations were fortunate to be spared the planning of these sacrifices."

It does seem absurd to jump from the observation that trees need more than just water and air to the observation that *all* (note: *all*) development plans are in the nature of cargo cult type superstitions. In fact, the author's metaphor is unfortunate. The proper planting of trees, taking account of biological conditions, in fact illustrates the *necessity* of proper planning; when to plant, where to plant, how much to plant, what species to plant, what use to make of the trees, what roads and other facilities to provide to link the planted trees with human activities, etc.

For a somewhat happier quotation illustrating the author's impressive style and appeal, let us take the following:

> " . . . intangible and immeasurable 'goods' are generally more highly prized than is economic output. The love of children, conjugal love, the solidarity of family or clan, the exhilaration of creation and the pride of skill, the veneration of the dead, the sense of divine authority, the oneness with nature: almost all the facets of human experience that ever moved the hearts of men will be absent from an economic measurement of welfare. The size and composition of GNP never inspired a poet as do these ethical and aesthetic values."

How very true and well said this is! But many of us will continue to hold that reduction of poverty is an objective no less worthy than the ones listed in this impressive passage, even if it may inspire fewer poets.

There is one point on which one must differ from the author in his criticism of the capital/output ratio approach. With some justification, he maintains that this implies an assumption that capital needs are inflexible and that growth of output must be accomplished through specific technologies, and he contends:

> "This notion appears highly unhistorical, since technologies are not handed down from on high but evolve by experimentation, and it is not uncommon for several technologies to co-exist in the production of a goods or service, as they do in shoe-making."

However, that precisely *is* the problem in the undeveloped countries today. Technologies *are*, in fact, handed down "from on high", i.e. from the developed countries, and there is much too little experimentation or R & D work going on in the poorer countries. Thus, not as an indication of what should be but as an indication of what is, the assumption of a specific technology is all too often justified.

Readers interested in this Hobart paper may wish to go back to Colin Clark's earlier one on "Growthmanship" of which the new paper is the natural offspring.

H. W. SINGER

Administrative Theories and Politics, by PETER SELF; *George Allen and Unwin;* index; pp. 308; £4.00 (hardback) and £2.50 (paperback).

As a child I was taught to play the piano. In the course of this I was instructed in musical theory, and came to realise that a knowledge of the system of keys and chords helped me to get the notes right and better to understand the way the music should be played. In the processes of administration I have discovered no such close relationship between theory and practice. The many senior officials with whom I have discussed administrative questions seem rarely to have relied on theoretical ideas to guide them in their actions. Nevertheless a number of British academics concerned with the teaching of public administration feel constrained to search for a body of administrative theory. Whether this compulsion springs from a desire to improve the quality of administration or to extend the range of human thought I am never sure.

Peter Self, Professor of Public Administration in the University of London, is one for whom administrative theory holds a fascination, and as a result he has written a book under the title *Administrative Theories and Politics*. As the reader will discover, this choice of title is significant. Peter Self never underestimates the influence of political factors on the processes of decision making in public bodies, nor the immense complexity of many of the problems with which public officials have to deal.

The first part of the book examines the various kinds of administrative theories that have so far been evolved. The author subjects them to a searching analysis in the course of which he identified their limitations. The "scientific" theorists, he suggests, have been mistaken on two points. They hold (1) an excessive belief in the values of disciplined hierarchy and (2) an oversimplified view of organisation which leads them to expect too much of too few "principles" and to overlook the diversity of factors and circumstances which differentiate organisations and even the same organisation at different points of history. Herbert Simon's contrasting approach to administrative theory, which he seeks through the design of a rational model of decision making, is also examined and found wanting, partly because it is overambitious in the number of alternatives it is expected to encompass and the elaborate role it envisages for applied behavioural research.

In the second part of the book Professor Self moves from the work of the established theorists to some of the long-standing problems of public

administration – among them the relationships between politicians and administrators, administrative advice and appraisal, and administrative motivation and performance. To these Professor Self brings a wide background of reading and the power of perceptive reflection. He also draws examples and inspiration from France and the United States as well as from Britain. His final chapter is called "The Dilemmas of Administration", a title that will evoke a sympathetic response from many a practising administrator.

This new volume will no doubt stand for some time as an authoritative assessment of the achievement to date of the administrative theorists – at any rate as seen through British eyes. For the administrator, however, it will serve a broader purpose. It examines practical questions that arise in his daily working life in a way that will give him new insights into familar situations. Although it is not always easy to write on these matters without the vocabulary (or jargon) of the social scientist, Professor Self has overcome this difficulty to a considerable degree.

RAYMOND NOTTAGE

Europeanisation of Development Aid, by KLAUS BILLERBECK; *The German Development Institute, Berlin* – in three parts, 1972.

This study is concerned with "the possibilities of Europeanising development aid after the enlargement of the European Communities". Part 1 deals specifically with the integration of European Aid, Part 2 with Community Aid to the Mediterranean Region, Asia and Latin America, Part 3 with Community Aid to the Associated States of Africa.

Already since this survey was published substantial changes have taken place in the attitudes and intentions of the European Community and of the countries that are likely to be associated with it after the ending of the present conventions of association; and Mr. Billerbeck in his analysis still to some extent states the issues in the context of the rather rigid formula of Yaoundé or Non-Yaoundé. In fact the position at the moment is much more fluid with a whole range of possibilities open to those countries that seek some form of association. Further since Mr. Billerbeck's study was completed there has been published the vitally important Deniau Memorandum which includes significant proposals for the stabilisation of incomes of many primary producers. Indeed, the whole field of trade is not adequately covered by Mr. Billerbeck as he deliberately focuses attention on aid. As an expository device this is understandable enough, but in practice the developing countries who are considering whether to associate or not with the EEC will be looking at the whole package of trade, aid and investment. By concentrating on one aspect alone the author reduces his own capacity for coming to grips with the major problems.

The author feels that Community aid should look towards the support of regional integration overseas; bi-lateral aid on the other hand should be channelled to individual countries and increasingly co-ordinated at the recipient level. He hopes also for the " 'de-regionalisation' of Community aid in favour of world-wide aid". (p. 22). These are significant proposals but the case needs to be argued that such developments are in the interests of

both those who give aid and those who receive it. As a long term objective if may well be what we should be aiming for. But perhaps building up step by step from the base we have, with all its historical peculiarities, might, in the end, be the most effective way of increasing our capacity and effectiveness to help. There are snags in trying to become a sort of European-based United Nations in the aid field operating on a "world-wide frame of reference".

Mr. Billerbeck indeed seems throughout to underestimate the importance of historical ties and the special relations that exist between certain European countries and certain developing countries. True he writes that, "An awareness of the historical components is important . . . " (p. 11) but he then fails to give this sufficient weight. This leads him to suggest that his proposals for co-operation "should first be tried out at the level of those recipient countries to which all participating EEC states have a 'normal relationship' ". (p. 13). But what is the normal relationship he has in mind? Is the UK's relationship with Malawi more or less normal than its relationship with Chad? Is Indonesia more normal to us than is Malaysia? One of Mr. Billerbeck's main concerns is to orientate Community aid "to regional groupings with the aim of economic integration between the countries concerned". (p. 25). This objective is laudible enough in the abstract but what does it mean in practice? Which Latin American and which Asian countries are candidates for integration? Here again, the absence of an analysis of the trade issues, which play so important a part in economic integration, or lack of it, lessens the value of the important points that Mr. Billerbeck is dealing with.

In part 3, Africa, the emphasis on fostering integration is further pursued. Here the possibility of having the whole of Africa – French speaking, Commonwealth and those other African countries such as Ethiopia and Liberia who were never part of the French or British Empires – associated with the EEC has interesting and exciting prospects.

It is vitally important that Europe should do nothing that makes it more difficult for African countries – or for that matter any other countries – to achieve the integration they desire. But it is important to recognise that it is extremely difficult for any country or group of countries from outside to play a major role in what is essentially an affair for the region concerned. It may be that it is through the establishment of really effective joint institutions of association that a major contribution can be made and it is a pity that this aspect is not sufficiently discussed by Mr. Billerbeck.

Looking at the study as a whole, there is much to commend it. The essays are short, the analysis and views are clearly and unequivocally expressed and they contain a wealth of positive and provocative proposals. Mr. Billerbeck is to be congratulated on producing a document of real value and one which can form the basis for much discussion over the coming months.

TOM SOPER

The Politics of Expertise, by GUY BENVENISTE; *Croom Helm, London,* 1973; Bibliography and index; pp. 232; £4.25.

Guy Benveniste, who teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, has set himself a fascinating task in writing this book. His main purpose is to understand why and how experts influence public and private policy, but

whilst he was writing a second purpose emerged: "to explain the limits of technology and highlight the danger of excessive reliance on accountability and all other forms of rationalisation". And, in his Preface, he states that this book clarifies the role of systems experts and planners in government and industry in the context of the rapid changes taking place in technological societies. The book explains that the new social role combines political and technical dimensions and cannot be devoid of value judgments and political commitment.

Those are his stated purposes and general approach and, because they are concerned with such important issues, they certainly wet the readers' appetite. His approach follows that of Machiavelli in referring to rulers (irrespective of the political system) as Princes, and he explains how and why Princes in modern times have become so dependent on their specialist advisers in various fields. He then examines the processes and types of planning with special reference to societies with rapidly developing technologies. In the central chapters of the book he deals with planning and uncertainty, secondary functions of planning, political aspects of the systems approach, the institutions of United States planning, four varieties of planning (trivial planning, utopian planning, imperative planning and intentional planning), how experts acquire power, tactics of intentional planning, and strategy.

The book is quite short: 206 pages of text plus a generous number of clearly presented references and a selected bibliography; it is attractively printed and bound.

My main criticisms stem from my disappointment during and after reading it. The book is depressingly dull and makes very little original contribution to our knowledge of the subject. Two paragraphs, selected almost at random illustrate this and are not untypical of the book in general:

> "Planners and experts are able to have a multiplier effect on public and private decision-makers when the statements they make about the future are perceived to have a high probability of proving true. Therefore, the way the experts present their plan or recommendations provides a new source of social power. (p. 36)"

> "As long as experts are generally convinced of the correctness of their methodologies and as long as they refrain from applying value judgments to the courses of action they advocate, there is a strong probability that they can subvert prevailing values in government and private institutions. Planning failures include those of experts who have no influence and are unable to achieve what they believe to be important. They also include those of experts who acquire too much power, happen to make mistakes, and are surprised to discover that the technical and narrow definition of their role was inadequate and led them to disregard widely shared values. (p. 38)"

When I reached the end with a sense of duty fulfilled I felt that most of what the author said could have been presented in one or two good articles: he is very good at directing one's attention to important issues and adding commonsense comments, but the Preface had led me to hope for rather more than that. His approach is theoretical but the theory produced is disappointingly

shallow. As with other areas in the social sciences, stating the obvious is sometimes useful, and raising the right sorts of questions can be valuable, but Guy Benveniste raised my expectations and could not fulfil them. He has written for "practitioners and students of urban planning, public social and business administration and development planning" in the hope "that he will awake their political consciousness and challenge them to understand their own purposes and commitments"; with regret I feel that he will only achieve that in a superficial way and at the lowest levels of responsibility.

RICHARD A. CHAPMAN

Land Use and Water Resources: in Temperate and Tropical Climates, by H. C. PEREIRA; *Cambridge University Press*, 1973; index; pp. 246; £4.75.

Sorting the relevant and important and interpreting the complex, in an ever-increasing flood of scientific literature, is a major problem, even for the professional research worker. Dr. Pereira's objective is to summarise, in plain language, information on land-use management in watersheds, in temperate and tropical environments. He aims to provide this technical information to aid decision-makers formulate policy on conservation and exploitation of land and water resources. By and large he has succeeded in these aims.

One might question the need for information on the narrow technical aspects of issues that are all but resolved. Implementation problems remain but these are primarily social, economic and political in nature. Surely everyone knows that for maximum water yield, catchments should be under forests; that cutting down large areas of forest may change the climate; that overgrazing causes irreversible degeneration of pasture; that water availability can be increased by cloud seeding to promote artificial rain; that water supplies may be cheaply augmented by desalinisation of sea water; and that cheap nuclear power will soon be available to promote this desalinisation. Assertions such as this form the basis for many land use strategies, yet each one is wrong.

Dr. Pereira draws upon scientific experiments throughout the world to show that grassland generally yields more water than forests and that forests do not in fact modify weather by causing rainfall, though they may usefully trap mist and snow. The effects of overgrazing can be dramatically reversed in tropical range lands as is illustrated by Dr. Pereira's own work in northern Uganda (some of the practical difficulties of those engaged in pioneer scientific work in remote regions is hinted at when he describes this experiment: "Unfortunately a period of tribal disturbances and cattle raids followed in which the experimental cattle were repeatedly lost and the grazing regimes were therefore erratic"). Erosion is largely irreversible in hills and mountains and though control measures are well established, implementation is expensive and beyond the resources of many developing countries. Artificial rain-making may promote rainfall in areas where heavy cloud formations exist but these do not generally occur in dry weather when rain is most valuable. Desalinisation of sea water is evidently possible but excessively costly and the probability for a breakthrough in the form of cheap nuclear power is a remote prospect. Administrators and politicians armed with

the information in this book will be able to put the claims of foresters, agriculturists and nuclear power protagonists into proper perspective.

Dr. Pereira is able to draw upon his wide experience in several countries to detail not just what information is worthwhile collecting, but also what type of instrumentation is appropriate. He discusses, in separate chapters, research on forested watersheds, tropical forests, grazing watersheds, and cropping on watersheds. There is an admirable short chapter on the hydrological effects of irrigation and drainage.

Dr. Pereira's study clearly establishes the importance of wise use of land and water resources. Benefits from prudent use are immense and though they mainly consist of disasters averted and savings of future reclamation costs, they are no less real for that. Many water conservation projects yield low rates of return, but they are socially desirable in that for instance, they are generally labour-intensive and therefore create jobs in construction and operation. Scientific work in this vital field, in rich and poor countries, must be sustained so that the technical basis for present and future decisions is sound. If and when social, economic and political constraints to optimum water development are removed there will be an even greater need for accumulated scientific knowledge and for people like Dr. Pereira to collate and interpret the experience. This book is an admirable and timely review of current knowledge. It will enable decision-makers to be fully informed whether they are deliberating on future investments or research needs and enable students from a wide range of disciplines to understand an extremely complex subject.

I. D. CARRUTHERS

International Law and Contemporary Commonwealth Issues, by ROBERT R. WILSON. Number 38 in a series published for the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Centre, *Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.* 1971; pp. IX, 245 (incl. index).

The object of this work is to examine the relevance of public international law to certain contemporary issues in the British Commonwealth. The five issues examined in detail are state succession, communalism, secession, migration and defence. To each of these topics a chapter of this work is dedicated. The treatment of these subjects is preceded by a preliminary chapter entitled Perspectives and concluded by a chapter on Measure of Relevance. There are four appendices: A Note, published by the Commonwealth Office on the Question of Treaty Succession on the Attainment of Independence by Territories Formerly Dependent Internationally on the United Kingdom (October 1966); the Joint Communiqué on the India – Ceylon Agreement regarding the Status and Future of Persons of Indian Origin in Ceylon (October 1964); The Proclamation of Independence of Rhodesia (November 1965); and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 (March 1968). A valuable bibliography and a satisfactory index conclude this scholarly work.

The five issues which the distinguished author has chosen for detailed examination are, indeed, the key areas in which the transition of the Commonwealth from a regional to an international organisation can be observed.

Naturally this evolution has brought about a change in the legal climate in which the Commonwealth operates. It is no longer founded on a system which was essentially British constitutional law but its framework is now public international law. This transition is the theme or *leitmotif* of this book. Professor Robert Wilson writes (on p. 192): "International law has supplanted an earlier system of rules which Commonwealth states observed *inter se*. This fact does not necessarily preclude some element of inter-dependence. It does perhaps explain why, until rather recently at least, international law has probably not been the principal point of view from which the Commonwealth states' relations with each other have been studied".

The book makes fascinating reading. The presentation of the subject-matter by the learned author is most attractive. The book is recommended to every student of international law and the development of Commonwealth relations. We are at present too close to the evolution of these relations to evaluate them properly but it is possible that future historians will consider the development from the Empire to the Commonwealth and the changes in the Commonwealth concept itself in recent years as one of the most significant events of the twentieth century.

CLIVE M. SCHMITTHOFF

Land Reform and Economic Development, by PETER DORNER; *Penguin Modern Economics Texts: Penguin Education,* 1972; pp. 167; 60p paperback.

The author straightaway avoids any tedious and probably unprofitable argument over the meanings of this vague and unsatisfactory term "land reform" and succeeds in introducing his book as a lively and highly relevant study within the field of development strategy. He leaves his reader in no doubt about the economic, social and political importance of land tenure institutions in the development of the less industrialised countries.

In his opening chapter he uses a wide canvas and sweeping strokes to paint the picture of modern land reform as he sees it. He is thinking in terms of creating an appropriate institutional environment for the rural sector and again and again he returns to the core problems of employment creation and the fuller realisation of human capabilities. He questions the identification of industrialisation with development and of agriculture with backwardness and points to the weakness of technological advances without institutional reform. But these reforms are very complex and difficult to accomplish; "there is no single body of theory which encompasses all the strategic variables". In particular, neither USSR nor USA experience may be taken as a ruling precedent; the factor proportion in most developing countries is quite different, and consequently the problem is quite different also.

Next he surveys the field of existing land tenure arrangements; certain parallels and distinctions are drawn between Latin American and Asian situations; but we would welcome more comment on Africa south of the Sahara; and the Pacific, curiously enough, merits no mention at all. Japan and Taiwan are cited to illustrate the relative ease with which Asian rent collection systems may be transformed into owner-operated family farming. It would have been interesting to explore here the more controversial case

for transforming African "communal" systems into modernised forms of co-operative/collective. However the Tanzanian *Ujamaa Vijijini* policy is treated sympathetically in another context later.

A more technically oriented section on problems of land aquisition and compensation is then followed by an appraisal of the available post-reform types of organisation, namely private family farms, group farming and state farms. His treatment of the three leaves one thirsting for more information. The high costs per farm unit in Latin American colonisation programmes are quoted, but the whole colonisation policy would be seen in better perspective if these costs could be compared with the capital investment necessary to create one job (and hence to maintain one family) in the industrial sector.

His analysis of the sources of economic power and of the significance of land tenure in industrial, traditional and transitional societies is both perceptive and stimulating; he traces the alternative political systems and, doubtless with Latin America principally in mind, explains the process whereby the gulf between the rich and poor may widen so that a highly skewed pattern of income distribution will result in a lower level of effective demand. From this position he constructs the case for redistributive land reform; not on possibly vague moral arguments and considerations of "social justice", but on the major economic consequences of increased rural incomes on the expansion of demand and on subsequent investment, particularly in consumer-goods industries. Empirical evidence is put forward to support the view that redistributive land reform really does lead to a more equal distribution of income; but a warning is again sounded that land reform is more a necessary precondition for development than a sufficiency in itself, and it must be accompanied by a whole range of infrastructural improvements if maximum benefit is to be realised.

Next he dispels the myth that salvation for underdeveloped countries lies in industrialisation. "Urbanisation throughout the less-developed world is far ahead of industrialisation" he argues, and follows this up with hard-hitting statistical evidence of very slow declines in the rural sector's labour force; very slow labour absorption in the manufacturing sector and huge reserves of under-utilised labour in the traditional sector of agriculture. His reasoning leads inexorably to the conclusion (by no means universally realised yet) that the gross insufficiency of capital to create urban jobs and facilities means that increased employment opportunities *must* be provided in the rural sector; and, whether we like it or not, the desired restructuring of the population must be postponed for decades.

This leads naturally to an analysis of the labour absorption capacity of large and small farms under private ownership and of various types of co-operative, collective and state farming systems. Predictably he favours the small private farm as the most labour-absorptive operational unit of all; but consideration of the parallel issue of mobilisation of labour and capital for infrastructural improvement really merits fuller attention than it receives in the footnote to which it is unfortunately relegated. Chinese collectivist policies are more clearly designed to deal with situations in a labour-surplus economy, and we would like to hear more about them.

The spectre of declining productivity levels consequent upon land reform is quickly cut down to size and the relationships between land reform, tenure security and response to producer price policies are brought into clearer focus. The existing dual structure in agriculture in many developing countries is then examined and further evidence provided to support a small-farm policy so as to assure the necessary incentives, the most appropriate use of production factors and an equitable distribution of the proceeds. Planning policies must be modified so as to permit the continued extraction of investible surplus from agriculture; whilst, at the same time, encouraging public investment in infrastructural improvements.

The book ends with a condemnation of current trends which lead to economic growth but to little real development, and with a call for a re-direction and reconceptualisation of aid programmes so as to make more express provision for institutional reform and for the wider distribution of opportunity, power and employment within the rural sector.

A great deal of experience and wisdom has been distilled and presented within the pages of this little book. The arguments are brief but cover a great deal of ground, and may be taken together as a statement of the western world's current thinking on redistributive land reform. The main shortcoming is that the assessment is based predominantly on Latin American experience, which may have some general relevance to Asian situations, but not to the very different institutional problems in Africa south of the Sahara, and in the Pacific.

Nevertheless, with this reservation, the book makes a valuable contribution to this field of study; not least because it contains a clear acceptance of the doctrine that "only what is socially just is economically sound".

H. W. WEST

Book Notes

Public Administration: A Select Bibliography; Third Revised Edition, 1973; *Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Overseas Development Administration Library.*

The library of the Overseas Development Administration has just issued the third edition of its bibliography on public administration. First issued in 1963, the bibliography is intended as a book selection guide to currently-available literature for the use of librarians in Institutes of Administration in developing countries throughout the world.

The new edition runs to 120 pages and provides publication details of almost two thousand books and periodicals concerned with the administrative sciences. All aspects of public administration are covered and material on management, public finance, economic planning and development and community development will be found together with publications on the structure and functions of central and local government.

Copies of the bibliography are available free of charge on application to the librarian of the ODA (Eland House, Stag Place, London, SW1).

A Guide to Project Appraisal in Developing Countries; *Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Overseas Development Administration, HMSO, London;* pp. 126; £1.50.

This Guide has been prepared by the Economic Planning Staff of Britain's Overseas Development Administration, and follows the methodology developed by Little and Mirrlees for OECD. Its purpose "is to provide a practical basis for appraising projects financed by the public sector and for screening private sector projects which are subject to public sector approval. Its character is operational rather than theoretical".

It is not intended that the Guide should be applied in its entirety – it is stressed that what is important is "to apply the general approach with care and with imagination to the real world without worrying overmuch about the theoretical niceties".

Three points are emphasised particularly:

(*a*) the use of international and not local domestic prices;
(*b*) the use of shadow wage rates;
(*c*) the use of a single discount rate in all calculations of the returns on alternative investments.

Aid donors and recipients, international agencies and consultants should welcome this essential new addition to the development planners' library.

La Bibliotheque Africaine, by PIERRE GEERAERTS, *The African Library – Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels,* 1972; illustrated, index; pp. 90.

The Librarian of the African Library in Brussels has prepared this history of its 85 years of activity, as a contribution to the International Book Year.

After introductory chapters which describe the origin of the library in 1888 and its development and expansion up to the present day, the major section of this monograph then follows, listing the most valuable works held in the library – including a great deal of rare material on the former Belgian Congo now the Republic of Zaire.

The library holds some 300,000 books, besides periodicals and journals, maps and microfilms, and must be a most valuable source for researchers and students and of great interest to all Africanists in and visiting Belgium.

Research Report No. 13 - Wakati Wa Furaha, by BUDD L. HALL; *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala,* 1973; pp. 47.

Budd Hall evaluates a radio study group campaign which was undertaken in Tanzania under the cheerful title of "A time for Rejoicing" – appropriately so as the project coincided with the celebration of 10 years of independence. The campaign combined the use of printed materials with regular radio programmes. The former included *hadithi*, personal and national histories, national concepts, songs etc; the latter was largely concerned with historical pieces and rural and political development. The campaign sought successfully to reach rural areas. Radio-owners loaned their sets to groups, some two-thirds of all Districts were covered. The emphasis was on rural culture and development. Some 20,000 people were reached, mostly farmers including group leaders. A high rate of return of registration and attendance forms was an indication of the success achieved as these were fairly complicated. The evaluators were satisfied that besides useful educational and cultural exchanges, participants actually learned (general knowledge in particular it seems) from their study group sessions.

Apart from some £1,750 borne by Ministry of Agriculture funds for printing publicity posters, total expenditure came to a remarkably modest £4,500 excluding any element for salaries but including travel claims and allowances. The Institute of Adult Education which was responsible for organising and carrying through this campaign is to be warmly congratulated.

Ngorongoro: the Eighth Wonder, by HENRY FOSBROOKE; *Andre Deutsh,* 1972; illustrated, bibliography, index; pp. 240; £3.95.

Manyara – Ngorongoro – Seronera, now a well-worn package deal trail through the immense, unique magnificent game country of Tanzania, with beyond doubt the showpiece Ngorongoro Crater itself.

Henry Fosbrooke administrator – turned – anthropologist – turned – conservationist, is admirably qualified to provide the story of the Crater. There are few, if any, with such specialist knowledge of the Masai as he, none perhaps who has studied the whole ecology of the Ngorongoro Crater for so long and in such detail. He fortunately was there when the planners came, with his knowledge that the Masai had conserved the game from destruction by neighbouring tribesmen who over the years had feared the Masai too much to do more than carry out periodical serious poaching forays.

The author understandably proffers his special pleading for the Ngorongoro conservation area, apparently still fearing that it may not survive. There were Jeremiahs who prophesied that Independence would see the game reserves denuded by protein-seekers. They have been confounded. Tanzania has followed an admirable policy of game conservation. Provided the conservationists are not too greedy (presently Tanzania's reserves cover thousands of square miles and it would be idle to argue that there is no room for manoeuvre), the crater, the pride of all Africa's game areas must surely receive adequate protection.

Those of us who have been to Eyasi will agree with the author that it possesses no enchantment for tourism! There are some delightful photographs – some coloured.

Informe Sobre la Reforma de la Administracion Publica Nacional, Vols. I and II; published by the *Commission of Public Administration in the Republic of Venezuela,* 1972; appendices, tables, index; Vol. I, pp. 645, Vol. II, pp. 621.

Dr. Allan-Randolph Brewer-Carias, President of the Venezuelan Public Service Commission presented this report on the Reform of Public Administration to the National Executive Branch of the State. The undertaking had been authorised by National Decree No 103 of 1969. Technical teams worked for more than two years in preparing its Administrative Reform Plan as set out in the report which covers the whole broad field of Administrative activities.

El Estatuto del Funcionario Publico en la ley de Carrera Administrativa, by Dr. ALLAN-RANDOLPH BREWER-CARIAS; *Public Administration Commission, Caracas, Venezuela;* annexes and index; pp. 255.

Dr. Brewer Carias' book to which HE Dr. Rafael Caldera, President of Venezuela contributes a prologue, deals with the position of Public officers in Venezuela following the enactment of the Administrative Career Law of 1970, under which the National School of Public Administration has been reorganised and development and training programmes for public servants redefined, and methods and techniques for improving the efficiency of the public service and government agencies, promoted.

The Chilean Road to Socialism, Ed. J. ANN ZAMMIT; *Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex,* 1973; bibliography; pp. 465; £4.50 (hardback) £2.50 (paperback).

A Conference or symposium described as "an International Round Table" was organised jointly by the Chilean National Planning Office and the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University and held in Santiago in March 1972. This volume provides a report on the proceedings and brings very considerable insight into the objectives set and the problems faced by the Government of President Allende in Chile when he achieved office following victory in the 1970 elections. The series of short papers on various facets of the Chilean revolution are mostly contributed by leading Chilean political figures of the Allende regime, whose subjective approach is inevitably a partial one (an admixture of manifestos and policy expositions is to some extent the consequence). Surprisingly there is no paper specifically on urban growth, a field in which Chile has evolved novel and forward-looking policies. The rapporteurship is disappointingly naive, there is a lack of rigorous editing which could usefully have omitted *inter alia* papers on non-Latin American countries. Those who believe that there is no place for a powerful military presence inside a really democratic form of government, will not find very convincing the excuse proffered in the introduction; nor did the military presence in the Cabinet avail the government; it may even have the means of making services, by tradition constitutionally-minded, all the more aware of the proximity of civil war engendered by near economic chaos and conflicting socio-economic interests. Be that as it may, Chile's radical political experiment which had attracted widespread interest far beyond the Americas has been ended abruptly by a military coup and the death of President Allende.

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